JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE
DANIEL DEFOE
MACMILLAN'S CLASSIC SERIES
MACMILLAN & CO.

ENGLISH CLASSIC SERIES,

FOR

Classes in English Literature, Reading, Grammar, etc.

EDITED BY EMINENT ENGLISH AND AMERICAN SCHOLARS.

Each Volume contains a Sketch of the Author's Life, Prefatory and Explanatory Notes, etc., etc.,

1 Byron's Prophecy of Dante. (Cantos I. and II.)
2 Milton's L'Allegro, and Il Penseroso.
3 Lord Bacon's Essays, Civil and Moral. (Selected.)
4 Byron's Prisoner of Chillon.
5 Moore's Fire Worshippers. (Lalla Rookh. Selected.)
6 Goldsmith's Deserted Village.
7 Scott's Marmion. (Selections from Canto VI.)
8 Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel. (Introduction and Canto I.)
9 Burns'sCotter'sSaturdayNight, and other Poems.
10 Crabbe's The Village.
11 Campbell's Pleasures of Hope. (Abridgment of Part I.)
12 Macaulay's Essay on Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.
13 Macaulay's Armada, and other Poems.
14 Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. (Selections from Acts I., III., and IV.)
15 Goldsmith's Traveller.
16 Hogg's Queen's Wake, and Kilmeny.
17 Coleridge's Ancient Mariner.
18 Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley.
19 Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard.
20 Scott's Lady of the Lake. (Canto I.)
21 Shakespeare's As You Like It, etc. (Selections.)
22 Shakespeare's King John, and Richard II. (Selections.)
23 Shakespeare's Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI. (Selections.)
24 Shakespeare's Henry VIII., and Julius Cæsar. (Selections.)
25 Wordsworth's Excursion. (Bk.I.)
26 Pope's Essay on Criticism.
27 Spenser'sFaerieQueene. (Cantos I. and II.)
28 Cowper's Task. (Book I.)
29 Milton's Comus.
30 Tennyson's Enoch Arden, The Lotus Eaters, Ulysses, and Tithonus.
31 Irving's Sketch Book. (Selections.)
32 Dickens's Christmas Carol. (Condensed.)
33 Carlyle's Hero as a Prophet.
34 Macaulay's Warren Hastings. (Condensed.)
35 Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield. (Condensed.)
36 Tennyson's The Two Voices, and A Dream of Fair Women.
37 Memory Quotations.
38 Cavalier Poets.
39 Dryden's Alexander's Feast, and MacFlecknoe.
40 Keats's The Eve of St. Agnes.
41 Irving's Legend of Sleepy Hollow.
42 Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare.
43 Le Row's How to Teach Reading.
44 Webster's Bunker Hill Orations.
45 The Academy Orthoëpist. A Manual of Pronunciation.
46 Milton's Lycidas, and Hymn on the Nativity.
47 Bryant's Thanatopsis, and other Poems.
48 Ruskin's Modern Painters. (Selections.)
49 The Shakespeare Speaker.
50 Thackeray's Roundabout Papers.
51 Webster's Oration on Adams and Jefferson.
52 Brown's Rab and his Friends.
53 Morris's Life and Death of Jason.
54 Burke's Speech on American Taxation.
55 Pope's Rape of the Lock.
56 Tennyson's Elaine.
57 Tennyson's In Memoriam.
58 Church's Story of the Æneid.
59 Church's Story of the Iliad.
60 Swift's Gulliver's Voyage to Lilliput.
61 Macaulay's Essay on Lord Bacon. (Condensed.)
62 The Alcestis of Euripides. English Version by Rev. R. Potter, M.A.

(Additional numbers on next page.)

ENGLISH CLASSIC SERIES—CONTINUED.

63 The Antigone of Sophocles. English Version by Thos. Francklin, D.D.
64 Elizabeth Barrett Browning. (Selected Poems.)
65 Robert Browning. (Selected Poems.)
66 Addison's Spectator. (Selections.)
67 Scenes from George Eliot's Adam Bede.
68 Matthew Arnold's Culture and Anarchy.
69 DeQuincey's Joan of Arc.
70 Carlyle's Essay on Burns.
71 Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.
72 Poe's Raven, and other Poems.
73 & 74 Macaulay's Lord Clive. (Double Number.)
75 Webster's Reply to Hayne.
76 & 77 Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. (Double Number.)
78 American Patriotic Selections: Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech, etc.
79 & 80 Scott's Lady of the Lake. (Condensed.)
81 & 82 Scott's Marmion. (Condensed.)
83 & 84 Pope's Essay on Man.
85 Shelley's Skylark, Adonais, and other Poems.
86 Dickens's Cricket on the Hearth.
87 Spencer's Philosophy of Style.
88 Lamb's Essays of Elia.
89 Cowper's Task, Book II.
90 Wordsworth's Selected Poems.
91 Tennyson's The Holy Grail, and Sir Galahad.
92 Addison's Cato.
93 Irving's Westminster Abbey, and Christmas Sketches.
94 & 95 Macaulay's Earl of Chatham. Second Essay.
96 Early English Ballads.
97 Skelton, Wyatt, and Surrey. (Selected Poems.)
98 Edwin Arnold. (Selected Poems.)
99 Caxton and Daniel. (Selections.)
100 Fuller and Hooker. (Selections.)
101 Marlowe's Jew of Malta. (Condensed.)
102-103 Macaulay's Essay on Milton.
104-105 Macaulay's Essay on Addison.
106 Macaulay's Essay on Boswell's Johnson.
107 Mandeville's Travels and Wycliffe's Bible. (Selections.)
108 109 Macaulay's Essay on Frederick the Great.
110-111 Milton's Samson Agonistes.
112-113-114 Franklin's Autobiography.
115-116 Herodotus's Stories of Cræsus, Cyrus, and Babylon.
117 Irving's Alhambra.
118 Burke's Present Discontents.
119 Burke's Speech on Conciliation with American Colonies.
120 Macaulay's Essay on Byron.
121-122 Motley's Peter the Great.
123 Emerson's American Scholar.
124 Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum.
125-126 Longfellow's Evangeline.
127 Andersen's Danish Fairy Tales. (Selected.)
128 Tennyson's The Coming of Arthur, and The Passing of Arthur.
129 Lowell's The Vision of Sir Launfal, and other Poems.
130 Whittier's Songs of Labor, and other Poems.
131 Word of Abraham Lincoln.
132 Grimm's German Fairy Tales. (Selected.)
133 Æsop's Fables. (Selected.)
134 Arabian Nights. Aladdin, or th Wonderful Lamp.
135-36 The Psalter.
137-38 Scott's Ivanhoe. (Condensed.)
139-40 Scott's Kenilworth. (Condensed.)
141-42 Scott's The Talisman. (Condensed.)
143 Gods and Heroes of the North.
144-45 Pope's Iliad of Homer. (Selections from Books I.-VIII.)
146 Four Mediæval Chroniclers.
147 Dante's Inferno. (Condensed.)
148-49 The Book of Job. (Revised Version.)
150 Bow-Wow and Mew-Mew. By Georgiana M. Craik.
151 The Nürnberg Stove. By Ouida.
152 Hayne's Speech. To which Webster replied.
153 Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. (Condensed.) By Lewis Carroll.
154-155 Defoe's Journal of the Plague. (Condensed.)
156-157 More's Utopia. (Condensed.)

ADDITIONAL NUMBERS ON NEXT PAGE.

Martha Perin
A. Grade
M. H. S.

A Complete Course in the Study of English.

Spelling, Language, Grammar, Composition, Literature.

Reed's Word Lessons—A Complete Speller.
Reed's Introductory Language Work.
Reed & Kellogg's Graded Lessons in English.
Reed & Kellogg's Higher Lessons in English.
Reed & Kellogg's One-Book Course in English.
Kellogg & Reed's Word Building.
Kellogg & Reed's The English Language.
Kellogg's Text-Book on Rhetoric.
Kellogg's Illustrations of Style.
Kellogg's Text-Book on English Literature.

In the preparation of this series the authors have had one object clearly in view—to so develop the study of the English language as to present a complete, progressive course, from the Spelling-Book to the study of English Literature. The troublesome contradictions which arise in using books arranged by different authors on these subjects, and which require much time for explanation in the school-room, will be avoided by the use of the above "Complete Course."

Teachers are earnestly invited to examine these books.

MAYNARD, MERRILL, & CO., PUBLISHERS,
43, 45, and 47 East Tenth St., New York.

MAYNARD'S ENGLISH CLASSIC SERIES.—No. 154-155.

THE PLAGUE IN LONDON

BY

DANIEL DEFOE

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

NEW YORK
MAYNARD, MERRILL, & CO.
43, 45, AND 47 EAST TENTH STREET

Copyright, 1895, by MAYNARD, MERRILL, & CO.

INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR OF THIS VOLUME

LIFE OF DEFOE.

DANIEL DEFOE was born in Fore Street, in Cripplegate, in the year 1660 or 1661. His father, James* Foe, the son of a Northamptonshire farmer who owned his own land, had settled in London, where he carried on the trade of a butcher. The family belonged to the Puritan party, and when the Act of Uniformity in 1662 compelled many ministers to resign their livings, James Foe was staunch to his parish minister, Dr. Annesley, the vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, who after resigning his living preached in a meeting-house in Little St. Helen's.†

To the early teaching of this divine, Defoe doubtless owed his love for religious liberty and the strong belief in Providence which is so apparent in his writings. He had too a genuine love for his pastor, and one of his earliest works is an elegy, written in 1697, shortly after Dr. Annesley's death, in which he speaks of him as "the best of ministers and best of men."

Defoe was sent at the age of fourteen to a school at Newington Green, kept by a Mr. Morton, another ejected divine. If his character was influenced by the teaching of

* Defoe adopted the prefix to his name about 1703.

† Dr. Annesley was grandfather of John Wesley.

his pastor, it is no less clear that his mastery over the English language was due in great measure to his schoolmaster, who made it one of the distinguishing features of his school that everything should be learnt in English; and though Defoe and his schoolfellows seem to have been fairly well versed in Latin and Greek, as well as in French and Spanish, it was said in later years by Defoe that more pupils of that school excelled as masters of the English tongue than of any school of his time. One of these pupils was Samuel Wesley.

Defoe had been originally intended for the ministry, but when he left school, this idea being abandoned, he was trained for business; and in 1685 he was a hose-factor on his own account. But he was very much more than a mere man of business, for throughout his career he took the liveliest and most active interest in the political questions of the day, taking his stand always on the side of civil and religious freedom.

The death of Charles II., and the accession of his brother, an avowed adherent of the Church of Rome, threatened the overthrow of the English Church, and Defoe, with some of his schoolfellows, joined the forces of Monmouth, who was hailed in the West of England as the champion of the Protestant cause. His schoolfellows were executed at the Bloody Assize, but Defoe escaped; and when William of Orange landed we find him as a volunteer in a troop of horse, escorting William into London.

During the reign of William III. he wrote many pamphlets, chiefly of a political nature, in support of the king, the most important being the *True-born Englishman*, a satire on those who wished to discredit William as a foreigner. He was also actively engaged in trade with Spain, and in his visits to that country doubtless gained the

knowledge of Spaniards and their affairs, which is so conspicuous in the story of Robinson Crusoe. He was, however, unfortunate enough to become bankrupt, and was for a time compelled to hide in Bristol. While there he lived at the Red Lion, in Castle Street, and was known as the "Sunday Gentleman," from the fact that Sunday was the only day on which debtors could appear in the streets without fear of arrest. His debts were afterwards honourably discharged.

After this he became accountant to the Commissioners of the Glass Duty, and was besides concerned in a factory at Tilbury for the manufacture of Dutch tiles, which, since the Revolution, were much in vogue. This seems to have been a thriving undertaking. However, in Queen Anne's reign, he was compelled to begin the world over again. By the Test and Corporation Act of 1661 no one was admitted to any municipal office till he had received the Sacrament, according to the rites of the Established Church. As some Dissenters, however, thought themselves justified in conforming, in order to qualify themselves for office, a Bill was proposed (1702) to suppress this "Occasional Conformity." Defoe attacked this intolerant spirit in a bitterly satirical pamphlet, called *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, in which, by apparently advocating the severest measures, he exposed the narrowness and bigotry of the Church party. For this pamphlet he was prosecuted by the Government, and condemned to stand in the pillory three times, to pay a fine of 200 marks, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. While in prison waiting for the execution of this sentence he wrote a *Hymn to the Pillory*, in which he shows that

> "Contempt, that false new word for shame,
> Is, without crime, an empty name,
> A shadow to amuse mankind."

That he is to be pilloried for speaking the truth, and that his enemies,

> "The men that placed him here
> Are friends unto the times.
> But at a loss to find his guilt
> They can't commit his crimes."

When the day of his exposure came, the mob, instead of pelting him, covered him with flowers and drank his health. This event, however, involved the loss of his business, and as it now became necessary for him to use his pen as a means of earning his living, to this misfortune may fairly be ascribed the creation of the series of novels or imaginary histories on which his fame as an author chiefly depends. The first of these was an account of the "Apparition of Mrs. Veale the next day after her death to Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury." This had so strong an air of truth about it that it was accepted as a narration of fact; and as the apparition happened to speak to Mrs. Bargrave of "the comfort in particular they received from Drelincourt's *Book of Death*, which was the best on that subject ever written," Defoe's story was reprinted and prefixed to the fourth edition of Drelincourt's book. Other stories followed, and Defoe also wrote a journal called the *Review*, which appeared for nine years, and may justly entitle him to be called the father of the British essayists. After being again prosecuted by the Government in 1713, and this time for holding the very opinions which he attacked in his writings, Defoe devoted himself almost entirely to writing stories, even the names of which cannot be here enumerated. The first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in 1719, and went through four editions in four months. The *Journal of the Plague Year* was written in 1722, and being published

anonymously was generally accepted as the narrative of an eye-witness. His numerous writings seem to have placed him in easy circumstances, and the last years of his life were spent in a fine house at Stoke Newington. He died in 1731, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

THE JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR.

This work appeared under the following circumstances. In the year 1720 Marseilles was visited by the plague, which devastated the city. This event caused great alarm in London, as the great plague which raged with such violence in 1665 had not entirely disappeared in England till 1679, and the memory of it was still fresh in the popular mind. This alarm was the occasion for the publication of many books and pamphlets on the great plague, among which may be noted especially an English translation of Dr. Hodge's *Loimologia*; an *Essay on the Different Causes of Pestilential Distemper, with Remarks on the Infection now in France*, by Dr. Quincey; a *Collection of very Valuable and Scarce Pieces Relating to the Last Plague in the Year 1665*; and a Latin Dissertation on the Plague, by Walter Harris. Defoe seized the opportunity thus presented to write a narrative of the plague which should be not only a true account of the events of the year, but should appeal to the mind of the reader as the experiences of an eye-witness. He therefore supposes his story to be the journal of a London tradesman who stayed in the City during that terrible year.

In 1665 he was only four years old, so he can hardly have had any very accurate recollection of the time, and as a matter of fact he seems to have largely drawn his informa-

tion from the works above mentioned, especially from the *Loimologia*. The orders of the Lord Mayor, which he prints in full (they are omitted in our volume), are taken verbatim from the *Collection of very Valuable and Scarce Pieces*. He also probably made use of various tracts and pamphlets, which were published shortly after the Plague; *e.g.*, *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, by Thomas Vincent, a clergyman who seems to have remained at his post while the pestilence lasted; *London's Lord, have Mercy upon us*, an account of all the plagues from 1592 to 1665; and *God's Voice to the City*, published in 1665, a sermon calling London to repentance for her sins. It may therefore be safely assumed that although this work is not really the journal of a citizen who "continued all the while in London,"* it really does give on the whole a true account of the times. It only remains therefore to consider how Defoe, to quote a contemporary critic, made himself so perfect a master of the art "of forging a story and imposing it on the world for truth." It has been already stated that the world was so imposed upon, and Dr. Mead, who was a contemporary of Defoe, quoted the book as the narrative of an eye-witness. Anyone who reads the story will notice many ingenious devices employed by Defoe to give the story the stamp of truth. Instances of this are his reticence, *for the sake of the family*, as to the name of the alderman who hanged himself (p. 49); his reasons for stating so fully his own course of action (p. 8); his objection to having his own meditations made public (p. 44); and some of the notes he appends to his story of the three poor men of Wapping (p. 81).

He has also a curious habit of repeating himself, which is exactly what one would expect in notes from a journal.

* See note.

Again, as Horace has told us, it is no easy task *proprie communia dicere;* but of this art Defoe was a complete master. He could enumerate the most trivial details, so as not only not to weary the reader, but even to impress him with the belief that they are the natural and appropriate way for an eye-witness to record the event. In this he was helped to a great degree by his thorough knowledge of the locality, and topographical details are inserted with great effect. Again, he could not actually have remembered much of the plague, but he could doubtless recall hearing it constantly talked of in his boyhood; and remarks such as those about the court (p. 14), and their want of thankfulness to God for preservation from the pestilence, may well be actual recollections of sayings of his own father. The reader will also notice the obvious connection between Defoe's early life and the detailed account of the butchers in Whitechapel. But the great secret of his power lay in his ability to project himself, so to speak, into the circumstances of which he writes. Characters in a novel are not necessarily reflections of the author's own individuality, but both Robinson Crusoe, and to a still greater extent the saddler of Whitechapel, are to all intents and purposes Defoe himself. He seems to have imagined himself to be the hero of his story, and then to have produced a most faithful account of what his own thoughts and actions would have been. In the saddler of Whitechapel we can see the reflection of Defoe's strong religious tendency, his upright character as a business-man, and his steady and unwavering adherence to a plan once formed. The circumstances narrated are facts, and the hero is a picture from life, the only fiction being the connection between the man and the story.

DEFOE'S STYLE.

Defoe's style is distinguished by the use of vigorous and pure English, with little or no trace of those French influences which were so prominent after the Restoration. His language and imagery are often drawn from the Bible. This is partly due to his early training, and partly also it is his natural way of expressing himself. But above all it is the result of his dramatic instinct which led him to reproduce the Puritanic habit of speech, a habit which, though nearly obsolete in 1720, was doubtless characteristic of Dissenters for some years after the Restoration. He has too a curious way of digressing, which adds to rather than detracts from the charms of his style. This is less apparent in our volume, as it contains little more than one-third of the original; but a notable instance will be found in the story of the three poor men of Wapping, which is twice introduced, and then laid aside for other matters.

CRITICAL OPINIONS.

"HERE Defoe has to deal with a story of such intrinsically tragic interest that all his details become affecting. . . . This book, more than any of the others, shows a skill in selecting telling incidents. We are sometimes in doubt whether the particular details which occur in other stories are not put in rather by good luck than from a due perception of their value. He thus resembles a savage, who is as much pleased with a glass bead as with a piece of gold; but in the 'History of the Plague' every detail goes straight to the mark. At one point he cannot help diverging into the story of three poor men who escaped into the fields, and giving us, with his usual relish, all their rambling conversations by the way. For the most part, however, he is less diffusive and more pointed than usual; the greatness of the calamity seems to have given more intensity to his style; and it leaves all the impression of a genuine narrative, told by one who has, as it were, just escaped from the valley of the shadow of death with the awe still upon him and every terrible sight and sound fresh in his memory. The amazing truthfulness of the style is here in its proper place; we wish to be brought as near as may be to the facts; we want good realistic painting more than fine sentiment. The story reminds us of certain ghastly photographs published during the American war which had been taken on the field of battle. They gave a more forcible taste of the horrors of war than the most thrilling pictures drawn from the fancy. In such cases we only wish the narrator to stand

as much as possible on one side and just draw up a bit of the curtain which conceals his gallery of horrors."—*Hours in a Library:* LESLIE STEPHEN.

"POSTERITY has separated the wheat from the chaff of Defoe's writings: his political tracts have sunk into oblivion; but his works of fiction still charm by their air of truth and the simple natural beauty of their style. As a novelist, he was the father of Richardson, and partly of Fielding; as an essayist, he suggested the *Tattler* and *Spectator;* and in grave irony, he may have given to Swift his first lessons. The intensity of feeling characteristic of the dean—his merciless scorn and invective and fierce misanthropy—were unknown to Defoe, who must have been of a cheerful and sanguine temperament; but in identifying himself with his personages, whether on sea or land, and depicting their adventures, he was not inferior to Swift. His imagination had no vision of surpassing loveliness, nor any rich combinations of humor and eccentricity; yet he is equally at home in the plain scenes of English life, in the wars of the cavaliers, in the haunts of dissipation and infamy, in the roving adventures of the buccaneers, and in the appalling visitations of the Great Plague. The account of the plague has often been taken for a genuine and authentic history; and even Lord Chatham believed the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier' to be a true narrative."—*Chambers's Encyclopædia.*

"DEFOE was essentially a journalist. He wrote for the day, and for the greatest interest of the greatest number of the day. He always had some ship sailing with the passing breeze, and laden with a useful cargo for the coast upon which the wind chanced to be blowing. If the Tichborne trial had happened in his time, we should

certainly have had from him an exact history of the boyhood and surprising adventures of Thomas Castro, commonly known as Sir Roger, which would have come down to us as a true record, taken, perhaps, by the chaplain of Portland prison from the convict's own lips. It would have had such an air of authenticity, and would have been corroborated by such an array of trustworthy witnesses, that nobody in later times could have doubted its truth. Defoe always wrote what a large number of people were in a mood to read. All his writings, with so few exceptions that they may reasonably be supposed to fall within the category, were *pièces de circonstance.* Whenever any distinguished person died or otherwise engaged public attention, no matter how distinguished, whether as a politician, a criminal, or a divine, Defoe lost no time in bringing out a biography. It was in such emergencies that he produced his memoirs of Charles XII., Peter the Great, Count Patkul, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Baron de Goertz, the Rev. Daniel Williams, Captain Avery, the King of the Pirates; Dominique Cartouche, Rob Roy, Jonathan Wild, Jack Sheppard, Duncan Campbell. When the day had been fixed for the Earl of Oxford's trial for high treason, Defoe issued the fictitious minutes of the Secret Negotiations of Mons. Mesnager at the English Court during his ministry. We owe the 'Journal of the Plague in 1665' to a visitation which fell upon France in 1721, and caused much apprehension in England. The germ which in his fertile mind grew into 'Robinson Crusoe' fell from the real adventures of Alexander Selkirk, whose solitary residence of forty years on the island of Juan Fernandez was a nine-days' wonder in the reign of Queen Anne."—*Daniel Defoe:* by WILLIAM MINTO.

"AFTER '*Robinson Crusoe,*' his '*History of the*

Plague' is the finest of all his works. It has an epic grandeur, as well as heart-breaking familiarity, in its style and matter."—W. HAZLITT in *Educational Review*.

DEFOE'S ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF.

"I AM a stoick," says Defoe, "in whatever may be the event of things. I'll do and say what I think is a debt to justice and truth, without the least regard to clamor and reproach; and as I am utterly unconcerned at human opinion, the people that throw away their breath so freely in censuring me may consider of some better improvement to make of their passions than to waste them on a man that is both above and below the reach of them. I know too much of the world to expect good in it, and have learnt to value it too little to be concerned at the evil. I have gone through a life of wonders and am the subject of a vast variety of providences. I have been fed more by miracle than Elijah, when the ravens were his purveyors. I have some time ago summed up the scenes of my life in this distich:

> "'No man has tasted differing fortunes more;
> And thirteen times I have been rich and poor.'

"In the school of affliction I have learnt more philosophy than at the academy and more divinity than from the pulpit: in prison I have learnt that liberty does not consist in open doors and the egress and regress of locomotion. I have seen the rough side of the world as well as the smooth; and have, in less than a year, tasted the difference between the closet of a king and the dungeon of Newgate."

MEMOIRS OF THE PLAGUE

IT was about the beginning of September, 1664, that I, among the rest of my neighbours, heard, in ordinary discourse, that the plague was returned again in Holland; for it had been very violent there, and particularly at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the year 1663, whither they say it was brought, some said from Italy, others from the Levant, among some goods which were brought home by their Turkey fleet; others said it was brought from Candia; others from Cyprus. It mattered not from whence it came; but all agreed, it was come into Holland again.

We had no such thing as printed newspapers in those days to spread rumours and reports of things; and to improve them by the invention of men as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as these were gathered from the letters of merchants and others who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only, so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation as they do now. But it seems that the Government had a true account of it, and several councils were held about ways to prevent its coming over, but all was kept very private. Hence it was that this rumour died off again, and people began to forget it as a thing we were very little concerned in and that we hoped was not true, till the latter end of November or the beginning of December, 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of the plague in Long-acre, or rather at the upper end of Drury-lane. The family they were in endeavoured to conceal it as much as possible, but as it had gotten some vent in the discourse of the neighbourhood, the Secretaries of State gat knowledge of it; and

concerning themselves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the truth, two physicians and a surgeon were ordered to go to the house and make inspection. This they did; and finding evident tokens of the sickness upon both the bodies that were dead, they gave their opinions publicly, that they died of the plague; whereupon it was given in to the parish-clerk, and he also returned them to the hall; and it was printed in the weekly bill of mortality in the usual manner, thus:—

"*Plague*, 2. *Parishes infected*, 1."

The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more, because in the last week in December, 1664, another man died in the same house, and of the same distemper: and then we were easy again for about six weeks, when none having died with any marks of infection, it was said the distemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish, and in the same manner.

This turned the people's eyes pretty much towards that end of the town; and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people at that end of the town; and that many had died of it, though they had taken care to keep it as much from the knowledge of the public as possible; this possessed the heads of the people very much, and few cared to go through Drury-lane, or the other streets suspected, unless they had extraordinary business that obliged them to it.

However, all this went off again, and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February, attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the City grew healthy, and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over; only that

still the burials in St. Giles's continued high: from the beginning of April especially, they stood at twenty-five each week, till the week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish thirty, whereof two of the plague, and eight of the spotted fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and twelve the week above-named.

This alarmed us all again, and terrible apprehensions were among the people, especially the weather being now changed and growing warm, and the summer being at hand: however, the next week there seemed to be some hopes again, the bills were low, the number of the dead in all was but 388. there was none of the plague, and but four of the spotted fever.

But the following week it returned again, and the distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, viz., St. Andrew's-Holborn, St. Clement's-Danes, and to the great affliction of the City, one died within the walls, in the parish of St. Mary-Wool-Church, that is to say, in Bear-binder-lane, near the Stocks Market; in all there was nine of the plague, and six of the spotted fever. It was, however, upon enquiry, found that this Frenchman, who died in Bear-binder-lane, was one who, having lived in Long-acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and the people had still some hopes. That which encouraged them was that the City was healthy. The whole ninety-seven parishes buried but fifty-four, and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the people at that end of the town, it might go no farther: and the rather because the next week, which was from the 9th of May to the 16th, there died but three, of which not one within the whole City or liberties; and St. Andrew's buried but fifteen, which was very low. 'Tis true St. Giles's buried two-and-thirty, but still, as there was but one of the plague, people began to be easy; the

whole bill also was very low, for the week before the bill was but 347, and the week above mentioned but 343. We continued in these hopes for a few days; but it was but for a few, for the people were no more to be deceived thus; they searched the houses, and found that the plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every day: so that now all our extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed; nay, it quickly appeared that the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement; that in the parish of St. Giles's it was gotten into several streets, and several families lay all sick together; and, accordingly, in the weekly bill for the next week, the thing began to show itself. There was indeed but fourteen set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion, for in St. Giles's parish they buried forty in all, whereof it was certain most of them died of the plague, though they were set down of other distempers; and though the number of all the burials were not increased above thirty-two, and the whole bill being but 385, yet there was fourteen of the spotted fever, as well as fourteen of the plague; and we took it for granted, upon the whole, that there was fifty died that week of the plague.

The next bill was from the 23rd of May to the 30th, when the number of the plague was seventeen; but the burials in St. Giles's were fifty-three, a frightful number! of whom they set down but nine of the plague; but on an examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the Lord Mayor's request, it was found there were twenty more, who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of the spotted fever, or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and from the first week in June, the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rise high, the articles of the fever, spotted fever, and teeth, began to swell; for all that could conceal their distempers did it to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to

230 yrs. ago.

prevent authority shutting up their houses, which, though it was not yet practised, yet was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it.

The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague, everybody said there had been 100 at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish as above.

Till this week the City continued free, there having never any died except that one Frenchman, who I mentioned before, within the whole ninety-seven parishes. Now there died four within the City,—one in Wood-street, one in Fenchurch-street, and two in Crooked-lane; Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

I lived without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate Church and Whitechapel-bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and, as the distemper had not reached to that side of the City, our neighbourhood continued very easy; but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great; and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the City, thronged out of town, with their families and servants in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the Broad street where I lived; indeed nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who, it was apparent, were returning or sent from the countries to fetch more people: besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and, generally speaking, all loaded with baggage, and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy thing to see, and as it was a sight which I could not but look on from morning to night, for indeed there was nothing else of moment to

be seen, it filled me with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the City, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting at the Lord Mayor's door without exceeding difficulty, there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health, for such as travelled abroad; for, without these, there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn: now, as there had none died in the City for all this time, my Lord Mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty, to all those who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those within the liberties too, for a while.

This hurry, I say, continued some weeks, that is to say, all the month of May and June, and the more because it was rumoured that an order of the Government was to be issued out, to place turnpikes and barriers on the road, to prevent people's travelling; and that the towns on the road would not suffer people from London to pass, for fear of bringing the infection along with them, though neither of these rumours had any foundation but in the imagination, especially at first.

I now began to consider seriously with myself concerning my own case, and how I should dispose of myself; that is to say, whether I should resolve to stay in London, or shut up my house and flee, as many of my neighbours did. I have set this particular down so fully, because I know not but it may be of moment to those who come after me, if they come to be brought to the same distress, and to the same manner of making their choice, and therefore I desire this account may pass with them, rather for a direction to themselves to act by, than a history of my actings, seeing it may not be of one farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me: the one was the carrying on my business and shop, which was considerable, and in which was embarked all my effects in the world; and

the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity, as I saw apparently was coming upon the whole City; and which, however great it was, my fears, perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

The first consideration was of great moment to me; my trade was a saddler, and as my dealings were chiefly not by a shop or chance trade, but among the merchants, trading to the English colonies in America, so my effects lay very much in the hands of such. I was a single man 'tis true, but I had a family of servants, who I kept at my business, had a house, shop, and warehouses filled with goods; and in short, to leave them all as things in such a case must be left, that is to say, without any overseer or person fit to be trusted with them, had been to hazard the loss, not only of my trade, but of my goods, and indeed of all I had in the world.

I had an elder brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal; and advising with him, his answer was in three words, the same that was given in another case quite different (viz.), "*Master, save thyself.*" In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself, with his family, telling me what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that the best preparation for the plague was to run away from it. As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me: he told me the same thing, which I argued for my staying, viz., that I would trust God with my safety and health, was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods; for, says he, is it not as reasonable that you should trust God with the chance or risk of losing your trade, as that you should stay in so imminent a point of danger, and trust Him with your life?

I could not argue that I was in any strait, as to a place where to go, having several friends and relations in Northamptonshire, whence our family first came from; and particularly, I had an only sister in Lincolnshire, very willing to receive and entertain me.

My brother, who had already sent his wife and two children into Bedfordshire, and resolved to follow them, pressed my going very earnestly; and I had once resolved to comply with his desires, but at that time could get no horse; for though it is true all the people did not go out of the city of London, yet I may venture to say, that in a manner all the horses did; for there was hardly a horse to be bought or hired in the whole City for some weeks. Once I resolved to travel on foot with one servant, and, as many did, lie at no inn, but carry a soldier's tent with us, and so lie in the fields, the weather being very warm, and no danger from taking cold: I say, as many did, because several did so at last, especially those who had been in the armies in the war which had not been many years past; and I must needs say, that speaking of second causes, had most of the people that travelled done so, the plague had not been carried into so many country towns and houses as it was, to the great damage, and indeed to the ruin of abundance of people.

But then my servant, who I had intended to take down with me, deceived me; and being frighted at the increase of the distemper, and not knowing when I should go, he took other measures, and left me, so I was put off for that time; and one way or other I always found that to appoint to go away was always crossed by some accident or other, so as to disappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a story which otherwise might be thought a needless digression, viz. about these disappointments being from Heaven.

I mention this story also as the best method I can advise any person to take in such a case, especially, if he be one that makes conscience of his duty, and would be directed what to do in it, namely, that he should keep his eye upon the particular Providences which occur at that time, and look upon them complexly, as they regard one another, and as they altogether regard the question before him, and then I think he may safely take them for intimations from Heaven of what is his unquestioned duty to do in such a case; I mean as to going away from, or staying in, the place where we dwell, when visited with an infectious distemper.

It came very warmly into my mind, one morning, as I was musing on this particular thing, that as nothing attended us without the direction or permission of Divine power, so these disappointments must have something in them extraordinary; and I ought to consider whether it did not evidently point out, or intimate to me, that it was the will of Heaven I should not go. It immediately followed in my thoughts, that if it really was from God that I should stay, He was able effectually to preserve me in the midst of all the death and danger that would surround me; and that if I attempted to secure myself by fleeing from my habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which I believed to be Divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that He could cause His justice to overtake me when and where He thought fit.

These thoughts quite turned my resolutions again; and when I came to discourse with my brother again I told him, that I inclined to stay and take my lot in that station in which God had placed me; and that it seemed to be made more especially my duty, on the account of what I have said.

My brother, though a very religious man himself, laughed at all I had suggested about its being an intimation from Heaven, and told me several stories of such foolhardy people, as he called them, as I was: that I ought indeed to submit to it as a work of Heaven, if I had been any way disabled by distempers or diseases, and that then, not being able to go, I ought to acquiesce in the direction of Him, who having been my Maker, had an undisputed right of sovereignty in disposing of me; and that then there had been no difficulty to determine which was the call of His providence, and which was not: but that I should take it as an intimation from Heaven that I should not go out of town, only because I could not hire a horse to go, or my fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous, since at the same time I had my health and limbs, and other servants, and might, with ease, travel a day or two on foot, and, having a good certificate of being in perfect health,

might either hire a horse or take post on the road, as I thought fit.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the mischievous consequences which attended the presumption of the Turks and Mahometans in Asia, and in other places, where he had been (for my brother, being a merchant, was a few years before, as I have already observed, returned from abroad, coming last from Lisbon), and how presuming upon their professed predestinating notions, and of every man's end being predetermined, and unalterably beforehand decreed, they would go unconcerned into infected places, and converse with infected persons, by which means they died at the rate of ten thousand or fifteen thousand a-week; whereas the Europeans or Christian merchants, who kept themselves retired and reserved, generally escaped the contagion.

Upon these arguments my brother changed my resolutions again, and I began to resolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for, in short, the infection increased round me, and the bills were risen to almost 700 a-week, and my brother told me he would venture to stay no longer. I desired him to let me consider of it but till the next day, and I would resolve; and as I had already prepared every thing as well as I could, as to my business, and who to intrust my affairs with, I had but little to do but to resolve.

I went home that evening greatly oppressed in my mind, irresolute, and not knowing what to do; I had set the evening wholly apart to consider seriously about it, and was all alone; for already people had, as it were, by a general consent, taken up the custom of not going out of doors after sunset; the reasons I shall have occasion to say more of by-and-by.

In the retirement of this evening I endeavoured to resolve, first, what was my duty to do, and I stated the arguments with which my brother had pressed me to go into the country, and I set against them the strong impressions which I had on my mind for staying; the visible call I seemed to have from the particular circumstance of my calling, and the care due from me for the preservation of

my effects, which were, as I might say, my estate; also the intimations which I thought I had from Heaven, that to me signified a kind of direction to venture; and it occurred to me, that if I had what I might call a direction to stay, I ought to suppose it contained a promise of being preserved, if I obeyed.

This lay close to me, and my mind seemed more and more encouraged to stay than ever, and supported with a secret satisfaction that I should be kept; add to this, that turning over the Bible which lay before me, and while my thoughts were more than ordinarily serious upon the question, I cried out, "Well, I know not what to do; Lord, direct me!" and the like; and at that juncture I happened to stop turning over the book, at the ninety-first Psalm, and casting my eye on the second verse, I read on to the seventh verse exclusive; and after that included the tenth, as follows: "I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the most High, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling," &c.

I scarce need tell the reader that from that moment I resolved that I would stay in the town, and casting myself entirely upon the goodness and protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other shelter whatever; and that, as my times were in His hands, He was as able to keep me in a time of the infection as in a time of health; and if He did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in His hands, and it

was meet He should do with me as should seem good to Him.

With this resolution I went to bed; and I was farther confirmed in it the next day, by the woman being taken ill with whom I intended to intrust my house and all my affairs; but I had a farther obligation laid on me on the same side, for the next day I found myself very much out of order also; so that if I would have gone away, I could not, and I continued ill three or four days, and this entirely determined my stay; so I took my leave of my brother, who went away to Dorking, in Surrey, and afterwards fetched a round farther into Buckinghamshire or Bedfordshire, to a retreat he had found out there for his family.

It was a very ill time to be sick in, for if any one complained, it was immediately said he had the plague; and though I had indeed no symptoms of that distemper, yet, being very ill, both in my head and in my stomach, I was not without apprehension that I really was infected; but in about three days I grew better; the third night I rested well, sweated a little, and was much refreshed; the apprehensions of its being the infection went also quite away with my illness, and I went about my business as usual.

These things, however, put off all my thoughts of going into the country; and my brother also being gone, I had no more debate either with him, or with myself, on that subject.

It was now mid-July, and the plague, which had chiefly raged at the other end of the town, and, as I said before, in the parishes of St. Giles's, St. Andrew's-Holborn, and towards Westminster, now began to come eastward towards the part where I lived. It was to be observed, indeed, that it did not come straight on towards us; for the City, that is to say, within the walls, was indifferent healthy still; nor was it got then very much over the water into Southwark; for though there died that week 1,268 of all distempers, whereof it might be supposed above 900 died of the plague; yet there was but 28 in the whole City, within the walls; and but 19 in Southwark, Lambeth parish

included; whereas in the parishes of St. Giles's, and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields alone, there died 421.

But we perceived the infection kept chiefly in the outparishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the City, as I shall observe afterward; we perceived, I say, the distemper to draw our way, viz., by the parishes of Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, and Bishopsgate: which last two parishes joining to Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, the infection came at length to spread its utmost rage and violence in those parts, even when it abated at the western parishes, where it began.

During the month of July, and while, as I have observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the west part, I went ordinarily about the streets as my business required, and particularly went generally once in a day, or in two days, into the City, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see if it was safe: and having the key in my pocket, I used to go into the house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened in the midst of such a calamity, as to rob and steal, yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised in the town, as openly as ever; I will not say quite as frequently, because the numbers of people were many ways lessened.

But the City itself began now to be visited too—I mean within the walls; but the number of people there were indeed extremely lessened by so great a multitude having been gone into the country; and even all this month of July they continued to flee, though not in such multitudes as formerly. In August, indeed, they fled in such a manner, that I began to think there would be really none but magistrates and servants left in the City.

As they fled now out of the City, so I should observe that the Court removed early, viz. in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve

them; and the distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them; for which I cannot say that I ever saw they showed any great token of thankfulness, and hardly anything of reformation, though they did not want being told that their crying vices might, without breach of charity, be said to have gone far in bringing that terrible judgment upon the whole nation.

The face of London was now indeed strangely altered—I mean the whole mass of buildings, City, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, and altogether; for as to the particular part called the City, or within the walls, that was not yet much infected; but in the whole, the face of things, I say, was much altered; sorrow and sadness sat upon every face; and though some parts were not yet overwhelmed, yet all looked deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so every one looked on himself and his family as in the utmost danger. Were it possible to represent those times exactly to those who did not see them, and give the reader due ideas of the horror that everywhere presented itself, it must make just impressions upon their minds, and fill them with surprise. London might well be said to be all in tears; the mourners did not go about the streets, indeed, for nobody put on black, or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends: but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses, where their dearest relations were perhaps dying, or just dead, were so frequent to be heard, as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were seen almost in every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for, towards the latter end, men's hearts were hardened, and death was so always before their eyes, that they did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

Business led me out sometimes to the other end of the town, even when the sickness was chiefly there; and as the

thing was new to me as well as to everybody else, it was a most surprising thing to see those streets, which were usually so thronged, now grown desolate, and so few people to be seen in them, that if I had been a stranger, and at a loss for my way, I might sometimes have gone the length of a whole street—I mean of the bye-streets—and see nobody to direct me, except watchmen, set at the doors of such houses as were shut up, of which I shall speak presently.

One day, being at that part of the town, on some special business, curiosity led me to observe things more than usually, and, indeed, I walked a great way where I had no business; I went up Holborn, and there the street was full of people; but they walked in the middle of the great street, neither on one side or other, because, as I suppose, they would not mingle with anybody that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses that might be infected.

The Inns of Court were all shut up; nor were very many of the lawyers in the Temple, or Lincoln's-inn, or Gray's-inn, to be seen there. Everybody was at peace; there was no occasion for lawyers; besides, it being the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I do not mean shut up by the magistrates, but that great numbers of persons followed the Court by the necessity of their employments, and other dependencies: and as others retired really frighted with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets: but the fright was not yet near so great in the City, abstractedly so called; and particularly because, though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet as I have observed that the distemper intermitted often at first, so they were, as it were, alarmed, and unalarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the City, or the east and south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened. It is true, a vast

many people fled, as I have observed, yet they were chiefly from the west end of the town; and from that we call the heart of the City, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the people, and such people as were unincumbered with trades and business; but of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst; so that in the place we call the liberties and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratcliffe, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families, who, as above, did not depend upon business.

But I must go back again to the beginning of this surprising time:—while the fears of the people were young, they were increased strangely by several odd accidents, which, put altogether, it was really a wonder the whole body of the people did not rise as one man, and abandon their dwellings, leaving the place as a space of ground designed by Heaven for an Akeldama, doomed to be destroyed from the face of the earth; and that all that would be found in it would perish with it. I shall name but a few of these things; but sure they were so many, and so many wizards and cunning people propagating them, that I have often wondered there was any, (women especially), left behind.

In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after another, a little before the fire; the old women, and the phlegmatic hypochondriac part of the other sex, who I could almost call old women too, remarked (especially afterward, though not till both those judgments were over), that those two comets passed directly over the City, and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the City alone: that the comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow; but that the comet before the fire was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious: and that accordingly, one foretold a heavy judgment slow but

severe, terrible, and frightful, as was the plague: but the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery, as the conflagration; nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet preceding the fire, they fancied, that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eye, but even they heard it; that it made a rushing, mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable.

I saw both these stars, and I must confess, had so much of the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgments; and especially when, after the plague had followed the first, I yet saw another of the like kind, I could not but say, God had not yet sufficiently scourged the City.

But I could not at the same time carry these things to the height that others did, knowing too, that natural causes are assigned by the astronomers for such things; and that their motions, and even their revolutions are calculated, or pretended to be calculated; so that they cannot be so perfectly called the forerunners, or foretellers, much less the procurers, of such events as pestilence, war, fire, and the like.

But let my thoughts, and the thoughts of the philosophers be, or have been what they will, these things had a more than ordinary influence upon the minds of the common people, and they had almost universal melancholy apprehensions of some dreadful calamity and judgment coming upon the City; and this principally from the sight of this comet, and the little alarm that was given in December, by two people dying at St. Giles's, as above.

The apprehensions of the people were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times; in which, I think, the people, from what principle I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies, and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales, than ever they were before or since; whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it, that is to say,

by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not; but certain it is, books frighted them terribly; such as "Lily's almanack;" "Gadbury's alogical predictions," "Poor Robin's almanack," and the like; also several pretended religious books: one, entitled—"Come out of her, my people, lest you be partaker of her plagues;" another, called—"Fair Warning;"—another—"Britain's Remembrancer," and many such; all, or most part of which, foretold, directly or covertly, the ruin of the City; nay, some were so enthusiastically bold as to run about the streets, with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the City: and one in particular, who, like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets,—"Yet forty days, and LONDON shall be destroyed." I will not be positive whether he said yet forty days, or yet a few days. Another run about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, "Woe to Jerusalem!" a little before the destruction of that city; so this poor naked creature cried, "O! the great and the dreadful God!" and said no more, but repeated those words continually with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, or any one else, but held on his dismal cries continually.

These things terrified the people to the last degree; and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two, in the bills, dead of the plague at St. Giles.

Next to these public things were the dreams of old women, or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits: some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London so that the living would not be able to bury the dead: others saw apparitions in the air; and I must be

allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never appeared; but the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed: and no wonder, if they who were poring continually at the clouds saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here they told us they saw a flaming sword held in a hand, coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city. There they saw hearses and coffins in the air, carrying to be buried. And there again, heaps of dead bodies lying unburied, and the like, just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

> "So hypochondriac fancies represent
> Ships, armies, battles, in the firmament;
> Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
> And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve."

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people gave every day of what they had seen; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one hand, and profane and impenetrable on the other. One time, before the plague was begun (otherwise than as I have said in St. Giles's), I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined with them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air, to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it, or brandishing it, over his head. She described every part of the figure to the life; showed them the motion and the form; and the poor people came into it so eagerly, and with so much readiness: "Yes, I see it all plainly," says one; "there is the sword as plain as can be." Another saw the angel. One saw his very face, and cried out, "What a glorious creature he was!" one saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly

as the rest, but perhaps, not with so much willingness to be imposed upon; and I said indeed, that I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side, by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to show it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which indeed if I had, I must have lied: but the woman turning upon me, looked in my face and fancied I laughed; in which her imagination deceived her too, for I really did not laugh, but was very seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. However, she turned from me, called me profane fellow, and a scoffer: told me that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching; and the despisers, such as I, should wonder and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she; and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them, and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them: so I left them; and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

Another encounter I had in the open day also and this was in going through a narrow passage from Petty-France into Bishopsgate churchyard, by a row of almshouses. There are two churchyards to Bishopsgate church, or parish; one we go over to pass from the place called Petty-France into Bishopsgate-street, coming out just by the church-door; the other is on the side of the narrow passage where the almshouses are on the left; and a dwarf-wall with a palisado on it, on the right hand, and the City wall on the other side, more to the right.

In this narrow passage stands a man looking through between the palisados into the burying-place; and as many people as the narrowness of the passage would admit to stop, without hindering the passage of others, and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one place, then to another, and affirming that he saw a ghost walking upon such a gravestone there, he described the shape, the posture, and the movement of it so exactly, that it was the greatest matter of amazement to him in the

world that everybody did not see it as well as he. On a sudden he would cry, "There it is—now it comes this way:" then, "'Tis turned back:" till at length he persuaded the people into so firm a belief of it, that one fancied he saw it, and another fancied he saw it; and thus he came every day making a strange hubbub, considering it was in so narrow a passage, till Bishopsgate clock struck eleven; and then the ghost would seem to start, and as if he were called away, disappeared on a sudden.

I looked earnestly every way, and at the very moment that this man directed, but could not see the least appearance of any thing; but so positive was this poor man, that he gave the people the vapours in abundance, and sent them away trembling and frighted; till at length, few people that knew of it, cared to go through that passage, and hardly anybody by night, on any account whatever.

This ghost, as the poor man affirmed, made signs to the houses, and to the ground, and to the people; plainly intimating, or else they so understanding it, that abundance of the people should come to be buried in that churchyard; as, indeed, happened: but that he saw such aspects, I must acknowledge, I never believed; nor could I see anything of it myself, though I looked most earnestly to see it, if possible.

These things serve to show how far the people were really overcome with delusions; and as they had a notion of the approach of a visitation, all their predictions ran upon a most dreadful plague, which should lay the whole City, and even the kingdom waste: and should destroy almost all the nation, both man and beast.

To this, as I said before, the astrologers added stories of the conjunctions of planets in a malignant manner, and with a mischievous influence; one of which conjunctions was to happen, and did happen, in October, and the other in November, and they filled the people's heads with predictions on these signs of the heavens, intimating, that those conjunctions foretold drought, famine, and pestilence. In the first two of them, however, they were entirely mistaken, for

we had no droughty season, but in the beginning of the year a hard frost, which lasted from December almost to March: and after that, moderate weather, rather warm than hot, with refreshing winds, and in short, very seasonable weather; and also several very great rains.

Some endeavours were used to suppress the printing of such books as terrified the people, and to frighten the dispersers of them, some of whom were taken up, but nothing was done in it, as I am informed; the Government being unwilling to exasperate the people, who were, as I may say, all out of their wits already.

Neither can I acquit those ministers that, in their sermons, rather sunk, than lifted up the hearts of their hearers; many of them, no doubt, did it for the strengthening the resolution of the people, and especially for quickening them to repentance; but it certainly answered not their end, at least not in proportion to the injury it did another way; and, indeed, as God himself, through the whole Scriptures, rather draws to Him by invitations, and calls to turn to Him and live, than drives us by terror and amazement, so, I must confess, I thought the ministers should have done also, imitating our Blessed Lord and Master in this, that His whole gospel is full of declarations from heaven of God's mercy and His readiness to receive penitents, and forgive them; complaining, "Ye will not come unto Me, that ye may have life;" and that therefore His gospel is called the gospel of peace, and the gospel of grace.

But we had some good men, and that of all persuasions and opinions, whose discourses were full of terror; who spoke nothing but dismal things; and as they brought the people together with a kind of horror, sent them away in tears, prophesying nothing but evil tidings; terrifying the people with the apprehensions of being utterly destroyed, not guiding them, at least not enough, to cry to Heaven for mercy.

It was, indeed, a time of very unhappy breaches among us in matters of religion; innumerable sects, and divisions, and separate opinions, prevailed among the people; the Church

of England was restored, indeed, with the Restoration of the monarchy, about four years before, but the ministers and preachers of the Presbyterians and Independents, and of all the other sorts of professions, had begun to gather separate societies, and erect altar against altar, and all those had their meetings for worship apart, as they have now, but not so many then, the Dissenters being not thoroughly formed into a body as they are since; and those congregations which were thus gathered together were yet but few; and even those that were, the Government did not allow, but endeavoured to suppress them, and shut up their meetings.

But the visitation reconciled them again, at least for a time, and many of the best and most valuable ministers and preachers of the Dissenters were suffered to go into the churches, where the incumbents were fled away,—as many were, not being able to stand it; and the people flocked without distinction to hear them preach, not much inquiring who, or what opinion they were of; but after the sickness was over, that spirit of charity abated, and every church being again supplied with their own ministers, or others presented where the minister was dead, things returned to their old channel again.

One mischief always introduces another; these terrors and apprehensions of the people led them into a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which they wanted not a sort of people really wicked, to encourage them to; and this was running about to fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, to know their fortune, or, as 'tis vulgarly expressed, to have their fortunes told them, their nativities calculated, and the like; and this folly presently made the town swarm with a wicked generation of pretenders to magic, to the black art, as they called it, and I know not what; nay, to a thousand worse dealings with the devil than they were really guilty of; and this trade grew so open and so generally practised, that it became common to have signs and inscriptions set up at doors;—"Here lives a fortune-teller"—"Here lives an astrologer"—"Here you may have your nativity calculated"—and the like; and Friar Bacon's

brazen head, which was the usual sign of these people's dwellings, was to be seen almost in every street, or else the sign of Mother Shipton or of Merlin's Head, and the like.

With what blind, absurd, and ridiculous stuff these oracles of the devil pleased and satisfied the people, I really know not; but certain it is that innumerable attendants crowded about their doors every day; and if but a grave fellow in a velvet jacket, a band, and a black coat, which was the habit those quack-conjurors generally went in, was but seen in the streets, the people would follow them in crowds, and ask them questions as they went along.

These things agitated the minds of the common people for many months while the first apprehensions were upon them, and while the plague was not, as I may say, yet broken out; but I must also not forget that the most serious part of the inhabitants behaved after another manner; the Government encouraged their devotion, and appointed public prayers, and days of fasting and humiliation, to make public confession of sin and implore the mercy of God, to avert the dreadful judgment which hung over their heads: and it is not to be expressed with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced the occasion: how they flocked to the churches and meetings, and they were all so thronged, that there was often no coming near, no, not to the very doors of the largest churches: also, there were daily prayers appointed morning and evening at several churches, and days of private praying at other places; at all which the people attended, I say, with an uncommon devotion. Several private families, also, as well of one opinion as of another, kept family fasts, to which they admitted their near relations only; so that, in a word, those people who were really serious and religious, applied themselves in a truly Christian manner to the proper work of repentance and humiliation as a Christian people ought to do.

Again, the public showed that they would bear their share in these things. The very Court, which was then gay and luxurious, put on a face of just concern for the public

danger. All the plays and interludes, which, after the manner of the French Court, had been set up, and began to increase among us, were forbid to act; the gaming-tables, public dancing-rooms, and music-houses which multiplied, and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, rope-dancers, and such-like doings, which had bewitched the poor common people, shut up their shops, finding, indeed, no trade; for the minds of the people were agitated with other things; and a kind of sadness and horror at these things sat upon the countenances, even of the common people: death was before their eyes, and everybody began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions.

But even those wholesome reflections, which, rightly managed, would have most happily led the people to fall upon their knees, make confession of their sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for pardon, imploring his compassion on them in such a time of their distress, by which we might have been as a second Nineveh, had a quite contrary extreme in the common people, who, ignorant and stupid in their reflections, as they were brutishly wicked and thoughtless before, were now led by their fright to extremes of folly; and as I have said before, that they ran to conjurors and witches, and all sorts of deceivers, to know what should become of them; who fed their fears, and kept them always alarmed and awake, on purpose to delude them and pick their pockets: so they were as mad upon their running after quacks and mountebanks, and every practising old woman for medicines and remedies, storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, as they were called, that they not only spent their money, but even poisoned themselves beforehand, for fear of the poison of the infection, and prepared their bodies for the plague, instead of preserving them against it. On the other hand, it is incredible, and scarce to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctors' bills and papers of ignorant fellows quacking and

tampering in physic, and inviting the people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz. INFALLIBLE preventive pills against the plague. NEVER-FAILING preservatives against the infection. SOVEREIGN cordials against the corruption of the air. EXACT regulations for the conduct of the body in case of an infection. Anti-pestilential pills. INCOMPARABLE drink against the plague, never found out before. An UNIVERSAL remedy for the plague. The ONLY TRUE plague water. The ROYAL ANTIDOTE against all kinds of infection; and such a number more, that I cannot reckon up, and if I could would fill a book of themselves to set them down.

I cannot omit a subtlety of one of those quack operators, with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him, but did nothing for them without money. He had, it seems, added to his bills, which he gave about the streets, this advertisement in capital letters, viz.—He gives advice to the poor for nothing.

Abundance of poor people came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine speeches, examined them of the state of their health, and of the constitution of their bodies, and told them many good things for them to do, which were of no great moment: but the issue and conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation, which, if they took such a quantity of every morning, he would pawn his life they should never have the plague—no, though they lived in the house with people that were infected: this made the people all resolve to have it: but then the price of that was so much,—I think 't was half-a-crown: but, Sir, says one poor woman, I am a poor alms woman, and am kept by the parish, and your bills say you give the poor your help for nothing. Ay, good woman, says the doctor, so I do, as I published there; I give my advice to the poor for nothing, but not my physic! Alas, Sir, says she, that is a snare laid for the poor then; for you give them your advice for nothing, that is to say, you advise them gratis, to buy your physic for their money; so does

every shopkeeper with his wares. Here the woman began to give him ill words, and stood at his door all that day, telling her tale to all the people that came, till the doctor, finding she turned away his customers, was obliged to call her up stairs again, and give her his box of physic for nothing, which, perhaps, too, was good for nothing when she had it.

It remains to mention now what public measures were taken by the magistrates for the general safety, and to prevent the spreading of the distemper when it first broke out: I shall have frequent occasion to speak of the prudence of the magistrates, their charity, their vigilance for the poor, and for preserving good order, furnishing provisions, and the like, when the plague was increased as it afterwards was. But I am now upon the order and regulations they published for the government of infected families.

I mentioned above, shutting of houses up: and it is needful to say something particularly to that, for this part of the history of the plague is very melancholy; but the most grievous story must be told.

About June, the Lord Mayor of London and the Court of Aldermen, as I have said, began more particularly to concern themselves for the regulation of the city.

The Justices of Peace for Middlesex, by direction of the Secretary of State, had begun to shut up houses in the parishes of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, St. Martin's, St. Clement Danes, &c., and it was with good success; for in several streets, where the plague broke out, upon strict guarding the houses that were infected, and taking care to bury those that died immediately after they were known to be dead, the plague ceased in those streets. It was also observed, that the plague decreased sooner in those parishes, after they had been visited to the full, than it did in the parishes of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, and others: the early care taken in that manner being a great means to the putting a check to it.

This shutting up of houses was a method first taken, as I understand, in the plague which happened in 1603, at the

coming of King James I. to the crown; and the power of shutting people up in their own houses was granted by Act of Parliament, entitled,—"An act for the charitable Relief and Ordering of Persons infected with the Plague:" on which Act of Parliament the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London founded the order they made at this time, and which took place on the 1st of July 1665, when the numbers infected, within the city, were but few, the last bill for the 92 parishes being but four; and some houses having been shut up in the city, and some sick people being removed to the Pest-house, beyond Bunhill-Fields, in the way to Islington; I say, by these means, when there died near one thousand a week in the whole, the number in the city was but 28, and the city was preserved, more healthy in proportion, than any other places all the time of the infection.

This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations: complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my Lord Mayor, of houses causelessly (and some maliciously) shut up: I cannot say, but upon inquiry, many that complained so loudly, were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious, or if uncertain, yet on his being content to be carried to the pest-house, were released.

It is true, that the locking up the doors of people's houses, and setting a watchman there night and day to prevent their stirring out, or any coming to them,—when, perhaps, the sound people in the family might have escaped, if they had been removed from the sick,—looked very hard and cruel; and many people perished in these miserable confinements, which 'tis reasonable to believe would not have been distempered if they had had liberty, though the plague was in the house; at which the people were very clamorous and uneasy at first, and several violences were committed, and injuries offered to the men who were set to watch the houses so shut up: also, several people broke out by force in many places, as I shall observe by and by. But it was a public

good that justified the private mischief; and there was no obtaining the least mitigation, by any application to magistrates, or Government, at that time; at least, not that I heard of. This put the people upon all manner of stratagems, in order, if possible, to get out; and it would fill a little volume to set down the arts used by the people of such houses to shut the eyes of the watchmen who were employed, to deceive them, and to escape or break out from them, in which frequent scuffles and some mischief happened; of which by itself.

As I went along Houndsditch one morning, about eight a-clock, there was a great noise; it is true, indeed, there was not much crowd, because people were not very free to gather together, or to stay long together, when they were there; nor did I stay long there: but the outcry was loud enough to prompt my curiosity, and I called to one that looked out of a window, and asked what was the matter.

A watchman, it seems, had been employed to keep his post at the door of a house which was infected, or said to be infected, and was shut up: he had been there all night for two nights together, as he told his story, and the day-watchman had been there one day, and was now come to relieve him: all this while no noise had been heard in the house, no light had been seen; they called for nothing, sent him of no errands, which used to be the chief business of the watchmen; neither had they given him any disturbance, as he said, from the Monday afternoon, when he heard great crying and screaming in the house, which, as he supposed, was occasioned by some of the family dying just at that time: it seems the night before, the dead cart, as it was called, had been stopped there, and a servant maid had been brought down to the door dead, and the buriers, or bearers, as they were called, put her into the cart, wrapped only in a green rug, and carried her away.

The watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered a great while; but at last one looked out, and said, with an angry quick tone, and yet a kind of crying

voice, or a voice of one that was crying, "What d'ye want, that ye make such a knocking?" He answered, "I am the watchman: how do you do? what is the matter?" The person answered, "What is that to you? Stop the dead cart." This, it seems, was about one a'clock: soon after, as the fellow said, he stopped the dead cart, and then knocked again, but nobody answered: he continued knocking, and then the bellman called out several times,—"Bring out your dead!" but nobody answered, till the man that drove the cart, being called to other houses, would stay no longer, and drove away.

The watchman knew not what to make of all this, so he let them alone till the morning-man, or day-watchman, as they called him, came to relieve him, giving him an account of the particulars; they knocked at the door a great while, but nobody answered; and they observed, that the window, or casement, at which the person had looked out who had answered before, continued open, being up two pair of stairs.

Upon this, the two men, to satisfy their curiosity, got a long ladder, and one of them went up to the window, and looked into the room, where he saw a woman lying dead upon the floor in a dismal manner, having no clothes on her but her shift: but though he called aloud, and putting in his long staff, knocked hard on the floor, yet nobody stirred or answered; neither could he hear any noise in the house.

He came down again upon this, and acquainted his fellow, who went up also; and finding it just so, they resolved to acquaint either the Lord Mayor, or some other magistrate, of it, but did not offer to go in at the window: the magistrate, it seems, upon the information of the two men, ordered the house to be broken open, a constable and other persons being appointed to be present, that nothing might be plundered; and accordingly it was so done, when nobody was found in the house but that young woman, who, having been infected, and past recovery, the rest had left her to die by herself, and were every one gone, having found some way to delude the watchman, and get open the door, or get out at some back door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he

knew nothing of it; and as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at the bitter parting, which, to be sure, it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children and servants being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound, that I could never learn; nor, indeed, did I make much inquiry after it.

Many such escapes were made out of infected houses, as particularly when the watchman was sent of some errand; for it was his business to go of any errand that the family sent him of, that is to say, for necessaries, such as food and physic; to fetch physicians, if they would come, or surgeons, or nurses, or to order the dead-cart, and the like: but with this condition too, that when he went he was to lock up the outer door of the house, and take the key away with him. To evade this, and cheat the watchman, people got two or three keys made to their locks; or they found ways to unscrew the locks, such as were screwed on, and so take off the lock, being in the inside of the house, and while they sent away the watchman to the market, to the bake-house, or for one trifle or another, open the door, and go out as often as they pleased; but this being found out, the officers afterwards had orders to padlock up the doors on the outside, and place bolts on them as they thought fit.

At another house, as I was informed, in the street next within Aldgate, a whole family was shut up and locked in, because the maid-servant was taken sick; the master of the house had complained by his friends to the next alderman, and to the Lord Mayor, and had consented to have the maid carried to the *Pest-House*, but was refused, so the door was marked with a red cross, a padlock on the outside, as above, and a watchman set to keep the door according to public order.

After the master of the house found there was no remedy, but that he, his wife, and his children, were to be locked up with this poor distempered servant, he called to the watchman, and told him he must go then, and fetch a nurse for them, to attend this poor girl, for it would be certain

death to them all to oblige them to nurse her; and told him plainly, that if he would not do this, the maid must perish either of the distemper, or be starved for want of food; for he was resolved none of his family should go near her: and she lay in the garret four story high, where she could not cry out or call to anybody for help.

The watchman consented to that, and went and fetched a nurse as he was appointed, and brought her to them the same evening; during this interval, the master of the house took his opportunity to break a large hole through his shop into a bulk or stall, where formerly a cobbler had sat, before or under his shop window; but the tenant, as may be supposed, at such a dismal time as that, was dead or removed, and so he had the key in his own keeping. Having made his way into this stall, which he could not have done if the man had been at the door, the noise he was obliged to make being such as would have alarmed the watchman; I say, having made his way into this stall, he sat still till the watchman returned with the nurse, and all the next day also; but the night following, having contrived to send the watchman of another trifling errand which, as I take it, was to an apothecaries for a plaister for the maid, for which he was to stay for the making up, or some such other errand that might secure his staying some time; in that time he conveyed himself and all his family out of the house, and left the nurse and the watchman to bury the poor wench; that is, throw her into the cart, and take care of the house.

I could give a great many such stories as these, diverting enough, which in the long course of that dismal year I met with, *that is*, heard of, and which are very certain to be true, or very near the truth; that is to say, true in the general, for no man could at such a time learn all the particulars. There was, likewise, violence used with the watchmen, *as was reported*, in abundance of places, and I believe that, from the beginning of the visitation to the end, there was not less than eighteen or twenty of them killed, or so wounded as to be taken up for dead; which

was supposed to be done by the people in the infected houses which were shut up, and where they attempted to come out, and were opposed.

As several people, I say, got out of their houses by stratagem, after they were shut up, so others got out by bribing the watchmen, and giving them money to let them go privately out in the night. I must confess, I thought it, at that time, the most innocent corruption, or bribery, that any man could be guilty of; and therefore could not but pity the poor men, and think it was hard when three of those watchmen were publicly whipped through the streets for suffering people to go out of houses shut up.

But notwithstanding that severity, money prevailed with the poor men, and many families found means to make sallies out, and escape that way, after they had been shut up; but these were generally such as had some places to retreat to; and though there was no easy passing the roads anywhither, after the 1st of August, yet there were many ways of retreat, and particularly, as I hinted, some got tents, and set them up in the fields, carrying beds or straw to lie on, and provisions to eat, and so lived in them as hermits in a cell; for nobody would venture to come near them, and several stories were told of such, some comical, some tragical; some who lived like wandering pilgrims in the deserts, and escaped by making themselves exiles in such a manner as is scarce to be credited, and who yet enjoyed more liberty than was to be expected in such cases.

I have by me a story of two brothers and their kinsman who, being single men, but that had stayed in the city too long to get away and, indeed not knowing where to go to have any retreat nor having wherewith to travel far, took a course for their own preservation which, though in itself, at first desperate yet was so natural that it may be wondered that no more did so, at that time. They were but of mean condition, and yet not so very poor as that they could not furnish themselves with some little conveniences, such as might serve to keep life and soul together; and finding the

distemper increasing in a terrible manner they resolved to shift, as well as they could, and to be gone.

One of them had been a soldier in the late wars and, before that, in the Low Countries, and having been bred to no particular employment but his arms; and besides being wounded, and not able to work very hard, had for some time been employed at a baker's of sea-biscuit in Wapping.

The brother of this man was a seaman too but, somehow or other, had been hurt of one leg, that he could not go to sea but had worked for his living at a sail makers in Wapping, or thereabouts; and being a good husband had laid up some money, and was the richest of the three.

The third man was a joiner, or carpenter, by trade, a handy fellow; and he had no wealth but his box, or basket, of tools, with the help of which he could at any time get his living, such a time as this excepted, wherever he went; and he lived near Shadwell.

They all lived in Stepney parish which, as I have said, being the last that was infected, or at least violently, they stayed there till they evidently saw the plague was abating at the west part of the town and coming towards the east, where they lived.

The story of these three men, if the reader will be content to have me give it in their own persons, without taking upon me to either vouch the particulars, or answer for any mistakes, I shall give as distinctly as I can, believing the history will be a very good pattern for any poor man to follow, in case the like public desolation should happen here; and if there may be no such occasion—which God, of His infinite mercy, grant us—still the story may have its uses, so many ways, as that it will, I hope, never be said that the relating has been unprofitable.

I say all this previous to the history having yet, for the present, much more to say before I quit my own part.

I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, though not so freely as to run myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the churchyard of our parish of Aldgate; a terrible pit it was, and I

could not resist my curiosity to go and see it: as near as I may judge, it was about forty foot in length, and about fifteen or sixteen foot broad, and at the time I first looked at it, about nine foot deep; but it was said they dug it near twenty foot deep afterwards, in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water; for they had, it seems, dug several large pits before this; for though the plague was long a coming to our parish, yet when it did come, there was no parish, in or about London, where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and Whitechapel.

I say, they had dug several pits in another ground when the distemper begun to spread in our parish, and especially when the dead-carts began to go about, which was not in our parish till the beginning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps fifty or sixty bodies each; then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which by the middle to the end of August, came to from 200 to 400 a week; and they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates, confining them to leave no bodies within six foot of the surface; and the water coming on, at about seventeen or eighteen foot, they could not well, I say, put more in one pit; but now, at the beginning of September, the plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials in our parish increasing to more than was ever buried in any parish about London, of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadful gulf to be dug, for such it was, rather than a pit.

They had supposed this pit would have supplied them for a month or more, when they dug it, and some blamed the churchwardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the like; but time made it appear the churchwardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did; for the pit being finished the 4th of September, I think they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it 1,114

bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six foot of the surface. I doubt not but there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish who can justify the fact of this, and are able to show even in what part of the churchyard the pit lay, better than I can; the mark of it also was many years to be seen in the churchyard, on the surface, lying in length parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the churchyard, out of Houndsditch, and turns east again into Whitechapel, coming out near the Three Nuns Inn.

It was about the 10th of September that my curiosity led, or rather drove, me to go and see this pit again, when there had been near 400 people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the daytime, as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth, by those they call the buriers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection; but, after some time, that order was more necessary, for people that were infected, and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits, wrapped in blankets or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves: I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there: but I have heard, that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then walled about, some came and threw themselves in, and expired there before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold.

This may serve a little to describe the dreadful condition of that day, though it is impossible to say anything that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it, other than this; that it was indeed *very, very, very* dreadful, and such as no tongue can express.

I got admittance into the churchyard by being acquainted

with the sexton who attended, who, though he did not refuse me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go: telling me very seriously, for he was a good, religious, and sensible man, that it was indeed their business and duty to venture, and to run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it, but my own curiosity, which, he said, he believed I would not pretend was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that perhaps it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. "Nay," says the good man, "if you will venture upon that score, 'name of God go in; for, depend upon it, 't will be a sermon to you, it may be, the best that ever you heard in your life. 'T is a speaking sight," says he, "and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to repentance"; and with that he opened the door, and said, "Go, if you will."

His discourse had shocked my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while; but just at that interval I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead cart, as they called it, coming over the streets; so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in: there was nobody, as I could perceive at first, in the churchyard, or going into it, but the buriers, and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart; but when they came up to the pit, they saw a man go to and again, muffled up in a brown cloak, and making motions with his hands, under his cloak, as if he was in a great agony; and the buriers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious, or desperate creatures, that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves: he said nothing as he walked about, but two or three times groaned very deeply and loud, and sighed as he would break his heart.

When the buriers came up to him, they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, having

his wife and several of his children all in the cart, that was just come in with him; and followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief that could not give itself vent by tears: and calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in, and go away, so they left importuning him: but no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into the pit promiscuously, which was a surprise to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, though, indeed, he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable; I say, no sooner did he see the sight, than he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself. I could not hear what he said, but he went backwards two or three steps, and fell down in a swoon: the buriers ran to him, and took him up, and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pye-tavern, over against the end of Houndsditch, where it seems the man was known, and where they took care of him. He looked into the pit again as he went away, but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that though there was light enough, for there were lanterns and candles in them, placed all night round the sides of the pit, upon the heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful and full of terror. The cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies; some were wrapped up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose, that what covering they had, fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it: for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.

It was reported by way of scandal upon the buriers, that if any corpse was delivered to them decently wound up, as we called it then, in a winding sheet tied over the head and feet, which some did, and which was generally of good linen; I say, it was reported, that the buriers were so wicked as to strip them in the cart, and carry them quite naked to the ground: but as I cannot easily credit anything so vile among Christians, and at a time so filled with terrors as that was, I can only relate it, and leave it undetermined.

Innumerable stories also went about of the cruel behaviour and practices of nurses who tended the sick, and of their hastening on the fate of those they tended in their sickness: but I shall say more of this in its place.

I was indeed shocked with this sight; it almost overwhelmed me, and I went away with my heart most afflicted and full of afflicting thoughts, such as I cannot describe: just at my going out of the church, and turning up the street towards my own house, I saw another cart with links, and a bellman going before, coming out of Harrow-alley, in the Butcher-row, on the other side of the way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the street also toward the church. I stood awhile, but I had no stomach to go back again to see the same dismal scene over again; so I went directly home, where I could not but consider with thankfulness the risk I had run, believing I had gotten no injury; as, indeed, I had not.

Here the poor unhappy gentleman's grief came into my head again, and indeed I could not but shed tears in the reflection upon it, perhaps more than he did himself; but his case lay so heavy upon my mind, that I could not prevail with myself, but that I must go out again into the street, and go to the Pye-tavern, resolving to inquire what became of him.

It was by this time one o'clock in the morning, and yet the poor gentleman was there: the truth was, the people of the house, knowing him, had entertained him, and kept him there all the night, nothwithstanding the danger of being

infected by him, though it appeared the man was perfectly sound himself.

It is with regret that I take notice of this tavern: the people were civil, mannerly, and an obliging sort of folks enough, and had till this time kept their house open, and their trade going on, though not so very publicly as formerly; but there was a dreadful set of fellows that used their house, and who in the middle of all this horror, met there every night, behaved with all the revelling and roaring extravagances, as is usual for such people to do at other times, and indeed, to such an offensive degree, that the very master and mistress of the house grew first ashamed, and then terrified at them.

They sat generally in a room next the street; and as they always kept late hours, so when the dead-cart came across the street end to go into Houndsditch, which was in view of the tavern windows, they would frequently open the windows as soon as they heard the bell, and look out at them; and as they might often hear sad lamentations of people in the streets, or at their windows as the carts went along, they would make their impudent mocks and jeers at them, especially if they heard the poor people call upon God to have mercy upon them, as many would do at those times in their ordinary passing along the streets.

These gentlemen being something disturbed with the clutter of bringing the poor gentleman into the house, as above, were first angry, and very high with the master of the house, for suffering such a fellow, as they called him, to be brought out of the grave into their house; but being answered that the man was a neighbour, and that he was sound, but overwhelmed with the calamity of his family and the like, they turned their anger into ridiculing the man, and his sorrow for his wife and children; taunted him with want of courage to leap into the great pit, and go to heaven, as they jeering expressed it, along with them; adding some very profane, and even blasphemous expressions.

They were at this vile work when I came back to the house, and as far as I could see, though the man sat still,

mute and disconsolate, and their affronts could not divert his sorrow, yet he was both grieved and offended at their discourse; upon this I gently reproved them, being well enough acquainted with their characters, and not unknown in person to two of them.

They immediately fell upon me with ill language and oaths; asked me What I did out of my grave, at such a time when so many honester men were carried into the churchyard? and Why I was not at home, saying my prayers, against the dead-cart came for me? and the like.

I was indeed astonished at the impudence of the men, though not at all discomposed at their treatment of me; however, I kept my temper. I told them, that though I defied them, or any man in the world, to tax me with any dishonesty, yet I acknowledged that in this terrible judgment of God, many better than I was swept away, and carried to their grave; but to answer their question directly, the case was, that I was mercifully preserved by that great God, whose name they had blasphemed and taken in vain, by cursing and swearing in a dreadful manner; and that I believed I was preserved in particular, among other ends of His goodness, that I might reprove them for their audacious boldness, in behaving in such a manner, and in such an awful time as this was, especially for their jeering and mocking at an honest gentleman, and a neighbour, for some of them knew him, who they saw was overwhelmed with sorrow, for the breaches which it had pleased God to make upon his family.

I cannot call exactly to mind the hellish abominable raillery, which was the return they made to that talk of mine, being provoked, it seems, that I was not at all afraid to be free with them; nor, if I could remember, would I fill my account with any of the words, the horrid oaths, curses, and vile expressions, such as, at that time of the day, even the worst and ordinariest people in the street would not use; (for, except such hardened creatures as these, the most wicked wretches that could be found had, at that time, some terror upon their minds of the

hand of that power which could thus in a moment destroy them).

But that which was the worst in all their devilish language was, that they were not afraid to blaspheme God, and talk atheistically; making a jest at my calling the plague the hand of God, mocking, and even laughing at the word judgment, as if the providence of God had no concern in the inflicting such a desolating stroke; and that the people calling upon God, as they saw the carts carrying away the dead bodies, was all enthusiastic, absurd, and impertinent.

I made them some reply, such as I thought proper, but which I found was so far from putting a check to their horrid way of speaking, that it made them rail the more; so that I confess it filled me with horror and a kind of rage, and I came away, as I told them, lest the hand of that judgment which had visited the whole city should glorify His vengeance upon them, and all that were near them.

They received all reproof with the utmost contempt, and made the greatest mockery that was possible for them to do at me, giving me all the opprobrious insolent scoffs that they could think of, for preaching to them, as they called it; which indeed grieved me, rather than angered me; and I went away, blessing God, however, in my mind, that I had not spared them, though they had insulted me so much.

They continued this wretched course three or four days after this, continually mocking and jeering at all that showed themselves religious, or serious, or that were any way touched with the sense of the terrible judgment of God upon us; and I was informed they shouted in the same manner at the good people who, notwithstanding the contagion, met at the church, fasted, and prayed to God to remove His hand from them.

I say, they continued this dreadful course three or four days, I think it was no more, when one of them, particularly he who asked the poor gentleman What he did out of his grave? was struck from Heaven with the plague, and died in a most deplorable manner; and, in a word, they were

every one of them carried into the great pit, which I have mentioned above, before it was quite filled up, which was not above a fortnight or thereabout.

I must here take further notice that nothing was more fatal, to the inhabitants of this city, than the supine negligence of the people themselves, who, during the long notice, or warning they had of the visitation, yet made no provision for it, by laying in store of provisions, or of other necessaries, by which they might have lived retired, and within their own houses, as I have observed others did, and who were in a great measure preserved by that caution; nor were they, after they were a little hardened to it, so shy of conversing with one another, when actually infected, as they were at first; no, though they knew it.

I acknowledge I was one of those thoughtless ones that had made so little provision, that my servants were obliged to go out of doors to buy every trifle by penny and half-penny, just as before it begun, even till my experience showing me the folly, I began to be wiser so late, that I had scarce to store myself sufficient for our common subsistence for a month.

I had in family only an ancient woman, that managed the house, a maid-servant, two apprentices, and myself; and the plague beginning to increase about us, I had many sad thoughts about what course I should take, and how I should act. The many dismal objects which happened everywhere as I went about the streets, had filled my mind with a great deal of horror, for fear of the distemper itself, which was, indeed, very horrible in itself, and in some more than in others. The swellings, which were generally in the neck, or groin, when they grew hard and would not break, grew so painful that it was equal to the most exquisite torture, and some, not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away; and I saw several dismal objects of that kind. Others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roarings; and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard as we walked along the

streets, that would pierce the very heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered that the same dreadful scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon our selves.

I cannot say but that now I began to faint in my resolutions: my heart failed me very much, and sorely I repented of my rashness: when I had been out, and met with such terrible things as these I have talked of; I say, I repented my rashness in venturing to abide in town: I wished often that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my brother and his family.

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more; and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation, and the preservation of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to Him, with fasting, humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had, I employed in reading books, and in writing down my memorandums of what occurred to me every day, and out of which, afterwards, I formed most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors; what I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and desire it may not be made public on any account whatever.

I also wrote other meditations upon divine subjects, such as occurred to me at that time, and were profitable to myself, but not fit for any other view; and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good friend, a physician, whose name was Heath, who I frequently visited during this dismal time, and to whose advice I was very much obliged for many things which he directed me to take, by way of preventing the infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold in my mouth when I was in the streets; he also came very often to see me; and as he was a good Christian, as well as a good physician, his agreeable conversation was a very great support to me in the worst of this terrible time.

It was now the beginning of August, and the plague grew very violent and terrible in the place where I lived: and Dr. Heath coming to visit me, and finding that I ventured so often out in the streets, earnestly persuaded me to lock myself up and my family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of doors; to keep all our windows fast, shutters and curtains close, and never to open them; but first, to make a very strong smoke in the room, where the window or door was to be opened, with rosin and pitch, brimstone, or gunpowder, and the like; and we did this for some time: but as I had not lain in a store of provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within doors entirely. However, I attempted, though it was so very late, to do something towards it; and first, as I had convenience both for brewing and baking, I went and bought two sacks of meal, and for several weeks, having an oven, we baked all our own bread: also I bought malt, and brewed as much beer as all the casks I had would hold, and which seemed enough to serve my house for five or six weeks: also I laid in a quantity of salt butter and Cheshire cheese; but I had no flesh-meat, and the plague raged so violently among the butchers, and slaughter-houses, on the other side of our street, where they are known to dwell in great numbers, that it was not advisable, so much as to go over the street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this necessity of going out of our houses to buy provisions, was in a great measure the ruin of the whole city, for the people catched the distemper on those occasions, one of another; and even the provisions themselves were often tainted, at least I have great reason to believe so; and therefore I cannot say with satisfaction, what I know is repeated with great assurance, that the market people, and such as brought provisions to town, were never infected. I am certain the butchers of Whitechapel, where the greatest part of the flesh-meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at last to such a degree, that few of their shops were kept open; and those that remained of them killed their meat at Mile-End, and that way, and brought it to market upon horses.

However, the poor people could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity that they must go to market to buy, and others to send servants or their children; and as this was a necessity which renewed itself daily, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets, and a great many that went thither sound, brought death home with them.

It is true people used all possible precaution; when any one bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not take it of the butcher's hand, but take it off the hooks themselves. On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer carried always small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles for scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means that could be used were used: but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards.

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on this very account: sometimes a man or woman dropt down dead in the very markets; for many people that had the plague upon them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments: this caused that many died frequently in that manner in the streets suddenly, without any warning; others perhaps had time to go to the next bulk or stall; or to any door porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets, that when the plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets, but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground: on the other hand it is observable, that though at first the people would stop as they went along, and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion; yet, afterward, no notice was taken of them; but that, if at any time we found a corpse lying, (we would) go cross the way, and not come near it; or if in a narrow lane or passage, go back again and seek some other way to go on the business we

were upon; and in those cases the corpse was always left till the officers had notice to come and take them away; or, till night, when the bearers attending the dead-cart would take them up and carry them away. Nor did those undaunted creatures who performed these offices, fail to search their pockets, and sometimes strip off the clothes, if they were well drest, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But to return to the markets: the butchers took that care, that if any person died in the market, they had the officers always at hand to take them up upon hand-barrows, and carry them to the next churchyard; and this was so frequent that such were not entered in the weekly bill, found dead in the streets and fields, as is the case now; but they went into the general articles of the great distemper.

But now the fury of the distemper increased to such a degree, that even the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions, or frequented with buyers, compared to what they were before; and the Lord Mayor caused the country people who brought provisions, to be stopped in the streets leading into the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrances into the town, and even in the fields; as particularly in the fields beyond Whitechapel, in Spittle-fields. Note, Those streets now called Spittle-fields, were then indeed open fields; also in St. George's-fields in Southwark, in Bunhill-fields, and in a great field called Wood's-close near Islington: thither the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and magistrates, sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, themselves keeping within doors as much as possible; and the like did many other people; and after this method was taken, the country people came with great cheerfulness, and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm: which, I suppose, added also to that report of their being miraculously preserved.

As for my little family, having thus, as I have said, laid

in a store of bread, butter, cheese, and beer, I took my friend and physician's advice, and locked myself up, and my family, and resolved to suffer the hardship of living a few months without flesh-meat rather than to purchase it at the hazard of our lives.

But though I confined my family, I could not prevail upon my unsatisfied curiosity to stay within entirely myself; and though I generally came frighted and terrified home, yet I could not restrain, only that, indeed, I did not do it so frequently as at first.

I had some little obligations, indeed, upon me, to go to my brother's house, which was in Coleman's Street parish, and which he had left to my care, and I went at first every day, but afterwards only once or twice a week.

In these walks I had many dismal scenes before my eyes, as particularly of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and shriekings of women, who, in their agonies, would throw open their chamber windows, and cry out in a dismal surprising manner; it is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

Passing through Token-house Yard in Lothbury, of a sudden, a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, "Oh! death, death, death!" in a most inimitable tone, and which struck me with horror and a chillness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open; for people had no curiosity now in any case; nor could anybody help one another; so I went on to pass into Bell-alley.

Just in Bell-alley, on the right hand of the passage, there was a more terrible cry than that, though it was not so directed out at the window; but the whole family was in a terrible fright, and I could hear women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted, when a garret window opened, and somebody from a window on the other side of the alley called and asked, "What is the matter?" upon which, from the first window it was answered, "O

Lord, my old master has hanged himself!" The other asked again, "Is he quite dead?" and the first answered, "Ay, ay, quite dead: quite dead and cold!" This person was a merchant, and a deputy alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention the name, though I knew his name too, but that would be an hardship to the family, which is now flourishing again.

We had at this time a great many frightful stories told us of nurses and watchmen, who looked after the dying people, that is to say, hired nurses, who attended infected people, using them barbarously, starving them, smothering them, or by other wicked means hastening their end, that is to say murdering of them: and watchmen being set to guard houses that were shut up, when there has been but one person left, and perhaps that one lying sick, that they have broke in and murdered that body and immediately thrown them out into the dead-cart! and so they have gone scarce cold to the grave.

I cannot say but that some such murders were committed, and I think two were sent to prison for it, but died before they could be tried; and I have heard that three others, at several times, were excused for murders of that kind; but I must say I believe nothing of its being so common a crime as some have since been pleased to say, nor did it seem to be so rational, where the people were brought so low as not to be able to help themselves, for such seldom recovered, and there was no temptation to commit a murder, at least, none equal to the fact where they were sure persons would die in so short a time, and could not live.

That there were a great many robberies and wicked practices committed even in this dreadful time I do not deny; the power of avarice was so strong in some, that they would run any hazard to steal and to plunder; and particularly in houses where all the families or inhabitants have been dead and carried out, they would break in at all hazards, and, without regard to the danger of infection, take even the clothes off the dead bodies, and the bed-clothes from others where they lay dead.

This, I suppose, must be the case of a family in Houndsditch, where a man and his daughter, the rest of the family being, as I suppose, carried away before by the dead-cart, were found stark naked, one in one chamber, and one in another, lying dead on the floor; and the clothes of the bed, from whence it is supposed they were rolled off by thieves, stolen, and carried quite away.

I have mentioned above, that notwithstanding this dreadful calamity, yet numbers of thieves were abroad upon all occasions, where they had found any prey; and that these were generally women. It was one morning about eleven o'clock, I had walked out to my brother's house, in Colman's-street parish, as I often did, to see that all was safe.

My brother's house had a little court before it, and a brick wall with a gate in it; and, within that, several warehouses, where his goods of several sorts lay: it happened that in one of these warehouses were several packs of women's high-crowned hats, which came out of the country; and were, as I suppose, for exportation; whither I know not.

I was surprised that when I came near my brother's door, which was in a place they called Swan-alley, I met three or four women with high-crowned hats on their heads; and as I remembered afterwards, one, if not more, had some hats likewise in their hands; but as I did not see them come out at my brother's door, and not knowing that my brother had any such goods in his warehouse, I did not offer to say anything to them, but went cross the way to shun meeting them, as was usual to do, at that time, for fear of the plague. But when I came nearer to the gate, I met another woman with more hats come out of the gate. "What business, Mistress," said I, "have you had there?" "There are more people there," said she; "I have had no more business there than they." I was hasty to get to the gate then, and said no more to her, by which means she got away. But just as I came to the gate, I saw two more coming cross the yard to come out with hats also on their heads, and under their arms; at which I threw the gate too behind me, which having a spring lock, fastened itself;

and turning to the women—"Forsooth," said I, "what are ye doing here?" and seized upon the hats and took them from them. One of them, who, I confess, did not look like a thief,—"Indeed," says she, "we are wrong; but we were told they were goods that had no owner; be pleased to take them again, and, look yonder, there are more such customers as we;" she cried, and looked pitifully; so I took the hats from her, and opened the gate, and bade them be gone, for I pitied the women indeed; but when I looked towards the warehouse, as she directed, there were six or seven more, all women, fitting themselves with hats, as unconcerned and quiet as if they had been in a hatter's shop, buying for their money.

I was surprised, not at the sight of so many thieves only, but at the circumstances I was in; being now to thrust myself in among so many people, who, for some weeks, had been so shy of myself, that if I met anybody in the street, I would cross the way from them.

They were equally surprised, though on another account: they all told me they were neighbours, that they had heard any one might take them, that they were nobody's goods, and the like. I talked big to them at first; went back to the gate, and took out the key; so that they were all my prisoners; threatened to lock them all into the warehouse, and go and fetch my Lord Mayor's officers for them.

They begged heartily, protested they found the gate open, and the warehouse door open; and that it had no doubt been broken open by some who expected to find goods of greater value, which indeed was reasonable to believe, because the lock was broke, and a padlock that hung to the door on the outside, also loose; and not abundance of the hats carried away.

At length, I considered that this was not a time to be cruel and rigorous; and besides that it would necessarily oblige me to go much about, to have several people come to me, and I go to several, whose circumstances of health I knew nothing of; and that even, at this time, the plague was so high as that there died 4000 a-week; so that in

showing my resentment, or even in seeking justice for my brother's goods, I might lose my own life; so I contented myself with taking the names and places where some of them lived, who were really inhabitants in the neighbourhood; and threatening that my brother should call them to an account for it when he returned to his habitation.

Then I talked a little upon another foot with them, and asked them how they could do such things as these in a time of such general calamity, and, as it were, in the face of God's most dreadful judgments, when the plague was at their very doors, and it may be in their very houses; and they did not know but that the dead-cart might stop at their doors in a few hours, to carry them to their graves.

I could not perceive that my discourse made much impression upon them all that while, till it happened that there came two men of the neighbourhood hearing of the disturbance, and knowing my brother, for they had been both dependants upon his family, and they came to my assistance; these being, as I said, neighbours, presently knew three of the women, and told me who they were, and where they lived; and it seems they had given me a true account of themselves before.

This brings these two men to a farther remembrance: the name of one was John Hayward, who was at that time under-sexton of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street; by under-sexton was understood, at that time, grave-digger and bearer of the dead. This man carried or assisted to carry all the dead to their graves, which were buried in that large parish, and who were carried in form; and after that form of burying was stopped, went with the dead-cart and the bell, to fetch the dead bodies from the houses where they lay, and fetched many of them out of the chambers and houses; for the parish was, and is still, remarkable, particularly above all the parishes in London, for a great number of alleys and thoroughfares very long, into which no carts could come, and where they were obliged to go and fetch the bodies a very long way; which alleys now remain to witness it; such as White's-alley, Cross-key-court, Swan-

alley, Bell-alley, White-horse-alley, and many more; here they went with a kind of hand-barrow, and laid the dead bodies on it, and carried them out to the carts; which work he performed, and never had the distemper at all, but lived above twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. His wife, at the same time, was a nurse to infected people, and tended many that died in the parish, being for her honesty recommended by the parish-officers; yet she never was infected neither.

He never used any preservative against the infection, other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoking tobacco; this I also had from his own mouth; and his wife's remedy was washing her head in vinegar, and sprinkling her head-cloths so with vinegar, as to keep them always moist; and if the smell of any of those she waited on was more than ordinary offensive, she snuffed vinegar up her nose, and sprinkled vinegar upon her head-cloths, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth.

It must be confessed, that though the plague was chiefly among the poor, yet were the poor the most venturous and fearless of it, and went about their employment with a sort of brutal courage: I must call it so, for it was founded neither on religion nor prudence; scarce did they use any caution, but run into any business which they could get employment in, though it was the most hazardous; such was that of tending the sick, watching houses shut up, carrying infected persons to the pest-house, and, which was still worse, carrying the dead away to their graves.

It was under this John Hayward's care, and within his bounds, that the story of the piper, with which people have made themselves so merry, happened, and he assured me that it was true. It is said, that it was a blind piper; but, as John told me, the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant, weak, poor man, and usually walked his rounds about ten a clock at night, and went piping along from door to door, and the people usually took him in at public-houses where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he in return, would pipe and sing,

and talk simply, which diverted the people; and thus he lived; it was but a very bad time for this diversion, while things were as I have told; yet the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when anybody asked how he did, he would answer,—the dead-cart had not taken him yet, but that they had promised to call for him next week.

It happened one night, that this poor fellow, whether somebody had given him too much drink or no—John Hayward said he had not drink in his house; but that they had given him a little more victuals than ordinary at a public-house in Coleman-street: and the poor fellow having not usually had a bellyful, or perhaps, not a good while, was laid all along on the top of a bulk or stall, and fast asleep at a door, in the street near London-wall towards Cripplegate; and that upon the same bulk or stall, the people of some house in the alley of which the house was a corner, hearing a bell, which they always rung before the cart came, had laid a body really dead of the plague just by him, thinking too that this poor fellow had been a dead body, as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

Accordingly, when John Hayward with his bell and the cart came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instrument they used, and threw them into the cart; and all this while the piper slept soundly.

From hence they passed along, and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart; yet all this while he slept soundly. At length the cart came to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mount-mill; and as the cart usually stopped some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped, the fellow awaked, and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when raising himself up in the cart, he called out, "Hey! where am I?" This frighted the fellow that attended about the work; but, after some

pause, John Hayward, recovering himself, said, "Lord bless us; there's somebody in the cart not quite dead;" so another called to him and said, "Who are you?" The fellow answered, "I am the poor piper—where am I?" "Where are you?" says Hayward; "why, you are in the dead-cart, and we are a-going to bury you." "But I a'nt dead though, am I?" says the piper; which made them laugh a little, though, as John said, they were heartily frighted at first; so they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business.

I know the story goes he set up his pipes in the cart, and frighted the bearers and others, so that they ran away; but John Hayward did not tell the story so, nor say anything of his piping at all; but that he was a poor piper, and that he was carried away as above, I am fully satisfied of the truth of.

I cannot omit taking notice what a desolate place the city was at that time. The great street I lived in, which is known to be one of the broadest of all the streets of London, I mean of the suburbs as well as the liberties, all the side where the butchers lived, especially without the bars, was more like a green field than a paved street, and the people, generally, were in the middle with the horses and carts. It is true that the farthest end, towards Whitechapel church, was not all paved, but even the part that was paved was full of grass also; but this need not seem strange since the great streets, within the city, such as Leaden-hall street, Bishopgate-street, Cornhill, and even the Exchange itself, had grass growing in them, in several places. Neither cart or coach were seen in the streets from morning to evening, except some country carts to bring roots and beans, or peas, hay and straw, to the market, and those but very few, compared to what was usual. As for coaches they were scarce used, but to carry sick people to the Pest-House, and to other hospitals; and some few to carry physicians to such places as they thought fit to venture to visit; for really coaches were dangerous things, and people did not care to venture into them, because they did not know who might have been

carried in them last; and sick infected people were, as I have said, ordinarily carried in them to the Pest-Houses, and sometimes people expired in them as they went along.

As the desolation was greater, during those terrible times, so the amazement of the people increased; and a thousand unaccountable things they would do in the violence of their fright, as others did the same in the agonies of their distemper, and this part was very affecting. Some went roaring and crying, and wringing their hands along the street; some would go praying, and lifting up their hands to heaven, calling upon God for mercy. I cannot say, indeed, whether this was not in their distraction; but be it so, it was still an indication of a more serious mind when they had the use of their senses, and was much better, even as it was, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every day, and especially in the evenings, were heard in some streets. I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast? He, though not infected at all but in his head, went about denouncing of judgment upon the city, in a frightful manner; sometimes quite naked, and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head. What he said, or pretended, indeed, I could not learn.

It pleased God that I was still spared, and very hearty and sound in health, but very impatient of being pent up within doors without air, as I had been, for fourteen days, or thereabouts; and I could not restrain myself, but I would go to carry a letter for my brother to the post-house; then it was, indeed, that I observed a profound silence in the streets. When I came to the post-house, as I went to put in my letter, I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard, and talking to another at a window, and a third had opened a door belonging to the office. In the middle of the yard lay a small leather purse, with two keys hanging at it, and money in it, but nobody would meddle with it. I asked how long it had lain there; the man at the window said it had lain almost an hour, but that they had not meddled with it, because they did not know but the person who dropped it might come back to look for it. I had no such

need of money, nor was the sum so big that I had any inclination to meddle with it, or to get the money at the hazard it might be attended with; so I seemed to go away, when the man who had opened the door said he would take it up; but so that if the right owner came for it, he should be sure to have it; so he went in and fetched a pail of water, and set it down hard by the purse; then went again and fetched some gunpowder, and cast a good deal of powder upon the purse, and then made a train from that which he had thrown loose upon the purse; the train reached about two yards, after this, he goes in a third time, and fetches out a pair of tongs red hot, and which he had prepared, I suppose, on purpose; and first setting fire to the train of powder, that singed the purse, and also smoked the air sufficiently; but he was not content with that, but he then takes up the purse with the tongs, holding it so long till the tongs burnt through the purse, and then he shook the money out into the pail of water; so he carried it in. The money, as I remember, was about thirteen shillings, and some smooth groats and brass farthings.

There might, perhaps, have been several poor people, as I have observed above, that would have been hardy enough to have ventured for the sake of the money; but you may easily see, by what I have observed, that the few people who were spared were very careful of themselves, at that time, when the distress was so exceeding great.

Much about the same time I walked out into the fields towards Bow, for I had a great mind to see how things were managed in the river and among the ships; and as I had some concern in shipping, I had a notion that it had been one of the best ways of securing one's self from the infection, to have retired into a ship; and musing how to satisfy my curiosity, in that point, I turned away over the fields, from Bow to Bromley, and down to Blackwall, to the stairs which are there for landing, or taking water.

Here I saw a poor man walking on the bank, or sea-wall, as they call it, by himself. I walked a while also about, seeing the houses all shut up; at last I fell into some talk,

at a distance, with this poor man; first, I asked him how people did thereabouts? "Alas! sir," says he, "almost all desolate; all dead or sick. Here are very few families in this part, or in that village," pointing at Poplar, "where half of them are not dead already, and the rest sick." Then he pointed to one house, "There they are all dead," said he, "and the house stands open: nobody dares go into it: a poor thief," says he, "ventured in to steal something, but he paid dear for his theft, for he was carried to the church-yard too, last night." Then he pointed to several other houses. "There," says he, "they are all dead, the man and his wife, and five children." "There," says he, "they are shut up; you see a watchman at the door:" and so of other houses. "Why," says I, "what do you here all alone?" "Why," says he, "I am a poor desolate man; it has pleased God I am not yet visited, though my family is, and one of my children dead." "How do you mean, then," said I, "that you are not visited?" "Why," says he, "that's my house," pointing to a very little low boarded house, "and there my poor wife and two children live," said he, "if they may be said to live, for my wife and one of the children are visited, but I do not come at them." And with that word I saw the tears run very plentifully down his face; and so they did down mine too, I assure you.

"But," said I, "why do you not come at them, how can you abandon your own flesh and blood?"

"Oh! sir," says he, "the Lord forbid! I do not abandon them; I work for them as much as I am able; and, blessed be the Lord! I keep them from want;" and with that I observed he lifted up his eyes to Heaven with a countenance that presently told me I had happened on a man that was no hypocrite, but a serious, religious, good man; and his ejaculation was an expression of thankfulness that, in such a condition as he was in, he should be able to say his family did not want. "Well," says I, "honest man, that is a great mercy, as things go now with the poor: but how do you live then, and how are you kept from the dreadful

calamity that is now upon us all?" "Why, sir," says he, "I am a waterman, and there is my boat," says he, "and the boat serves me for a house; I work in it in the day, and I sleep in it in the night; and what I get I lay down upon that stone," says he, showing me a broad stone on the other side of the street, a good way from his house, "and then," says he, "I halloo, and call to them till I make them hear, and they come and fetch it."

"Well, friend," says I, "but how can you get any money as a waterman? does anybody go by water these times?" "Yes, sir," says he, "in the way I am employed, there does. Do you see there," says he, "five ships lie at anchor?" pointing down the river, a good way below the town: "and do you see," says he, "eight or ten ships lie at the chain, there, and at anchor yonder?" pointing above the town. "All those ships have families on board of their merchants and owners, and such like, who have locked themselves up and live on board, close shut in for fear of the infection; and I tend on them to fetch things for them, carry letters, and do what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be obliged to come on shore; and every night I fasten my boat on board one of the ship's boats, and there I sleep by myself, and, blessed be God! I am preserved hitherto."

"Well," said I, "friend, but will they let you come on board after you have been on shore here, when this is such a terrible place, and so infected as it is?"

"Why, as to that," said he, "I very seldom go up the ship side, but deliver what I bring to their boat, or lie by the side, and they hoist it on board; if I did, I think they are in no danger from me, for I never go into any house on shore, or touch anybody, no, not of my own family; but I fetch provisions for them."

"Nay," says I, "but that may be worse, for you must have those provisions of somebody or other; and since all this part of the town is so infected, it is dangerous so much as to speak with anybody; for this village," said I, "is, as it were, the beginning of London, though it be at some distance from it."

"That is true," added he; "but, you do not understand me right; I do not buy provisions for them here; I row up to Greenwich and buy fresh meat there, and sometimes I row down the river to Woolwich, and buy there; then I go to single farmhouses on the Kentish side, where I am known, and buy fowls, and eggs and butter, and bring to the ships, as they direct me, sometimes one, sometimes the other; I seldom come on shore here, and I come now only to call to my wife, and hear how my little family do, and give them a little money which I received last night."

"Poor man!" said I, "and how much hast thou gotten for them?"

"I have gotten four shillings," said he, "which is a great sum, as things go now with poor men; but they have given me a bag of bread too, and a salt fish and some flesh; so all helps out."

"Well," said I, "and have you given it them yet?"

"No," said he, "but I have called, and my wife has answered that she cannot come out yet, but in half-an-hour she hopes to come, and I am waiting for her. Poor woman!" says he, "she is brought sadly down; she has a swelling, and it is broke, and I hope she will recover; but I fear the child will die; but it is the Lord!"—here he stopt, and wept very much.

"Well, honest friend," said I, "thou hast a sure comforter, if thou hast brought thyself to be resigned to the will of God; He is dealing with us all in judgment."

"Oh, sir," says he, "it is infinite mercy if any of us are spared; and who am I to repine?"

"Sayest thou so?" said I; "and how much less is my faith than thine?" And here my heart smote me, suggesting how much better this poor man's foundation was, on which he stayed in the danger, than mine; that he had nowhere to fly; that he had a family to bind him to attendance, which I had not; and mine was mere presumption, his a true dependence, and a courage resting on God; and yet, that he used all possible caution for his safety.

I turned a little way from the man, while these thoughts

engaged me, for, indeed, I could no more refrain from tears than he.

At length, after some further talk, the poor woman opened the door and called—"Robert! Robert!" he answered, and bid her stay a few moments and he would come; so he ran down the common stairs to his boat, and fetched up a sack, in which was the provisions he had brought from the ships; and when he returned he hallooed again; then he went to the great stone which he showed me, and emptied the sack, and laid all out, everything by themselves, and then retired; and his wife came with a little boy to fetch them away; and he called and said, such a captain had sent such a thing, and such a captain such a thing: and at the end adds, "God has sent it all: give thanks to Him." When the poor woman had taken up all, she was so weak she could not carry it at once in, though the weight was not much neither; so she left the biscuit, which was in a little bag, and left a little boy to watch it till she came again.

"Well, but," says I to him, "did you leave her the four shillings too, which you said was your week's pay?"

"Yes, yes," says he, "you shall hear her own it." So he calls again, "Rachel! Rachel!" which it seems was her name, "did you take up the money?" "Yes," said she. "How much was it?" said he. "Four shillings and a groat," said she. "Well, well," says he, "the Lord keep you all!" and so he turned to go away.

As I could not refrain from contributing tears to this man's story, so neither could I refrain my charity for his assistance; so I called him,—"Hark thee, friend," said I, "come hither; for I believe thou art in health, that I may venture thee!" so I pulled out my hand, which was in my pocket before;—"Here," says I, "go and call thy Rachel once more, and give her a little more comfort from me. God will never forsake a family that trusts in Him as thou dost." So I gave him four other shillings, and bad him go and lay them on the stone, and call his wife.

I have not words to express the poor man's thankfulness, neither could he express it himself, but by tears running

down his face; he called his wife, and told her God had moved the heart of a stranger, upon hearing their condition, to give them all that money; and a great deal more such as that he said to her. The woman, too, made signs of the like thankfulness, as well to Heaven as to me, and joyfully picked it up; and I parted with no money all that year that I thought better bestowed.

I then asked the poor man if the distemper had not reached to Greenwich; he said it had not till about a fortnight before, but that then he feared it had; but that it was only at that end of the town which lay south towards Deptford-bridge; that he went only to a butcher's shop and a grocer's, where he generally bought such things as they sent him for; but was very careful.

I asked him then, how it came to pass that those people who had so shut themselves up in the ships had not laid in sufficient stores of all things necessary? He said some of them had, but on the other hand, some did not come on board till they were frighted into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to the proper people to lay in quantities of things; and that he waited on two ships, which he showed me, that had laid in little or nothing but biscuit-bread and ship-beer; and that he had bought everything else almost for them. I asked him if there was any more ships that had separated themselves as those had done? He told me, yes, all the way up from the point, right against Greenwich, to within the shore of Limehouse and Redriff, all the ships that could have room rid two and two in the middle of the stream, and that some of them had several families on board. I asked him if the distemper had not reached them? He said he believed it had not, except two or three ships, whose people had not been so watchful, to keep the seamen from going on shore, as others had been; and he said it was a very fine sight to see how the ships lay up the pool.

When he said he was going over to Greenwich as soon as the tide began to come in, I asked him if he would let me go with him, and bring me back, for that I had a great mind

to see how the ships were ranged, as he had told me: he told me, if I would assure him on the word of a Christian, and of an honest man, that I had not the distemper, he would. I assured him that I had not; that it had pleased God to preserve me; that I lived in Whitechapel, but was too impatient of being so long within doors, and that I had ventured out so far for the refreshment of a little air; but that none in my house had so much as been touched with it.

"Well, sir," says he, "as your charity has been moved to pity me and my poor family, sure you cannot have so little pity left as to put yourself into my boat if you were not sound in health, which would be nothing less than killing me, and ruining my whole family." The poor man troubled me so much when he spoke of his family with such a sensible concern, and in such an affectionate manner, that I could not satisfy myself at first to go at all. I told him I would lay aside my curiosity rather than make him uneasy, though I was sure, and very thankful for it, that I had no more distemper upon me than the freshest man in the world. Well, he would not have me put it off neither; but to let me see how confident he was that I was just to him, he now importuned me to go: so when the tide came up to his boat, I went in, and he carried me to Greenwich. While he bought the things which he had in his charge to buy, I walked up to the top of the hill under which the town stands, and on the east side of the town, to get a prospect of the river; but it was a surprising sight to see the number of ships which lay in rows, two and two, and some places, two or three such lines in the breadth of the river, and this not only up quite to the town, between the houses which we call Ratcliff and Redriff, which they name the Pool, but even down the whole river, as far as the head of Long Reach, which is as far as the hills give us leave to see it.

I cannot guess at the number of ships, but I think there must be several hundreds of sail: and I could not but applaud the contrivance, for ten thousand people and more, who attended ship affairs, were certainly sheltered here from the violence of the contagion, and lived very safe and very easy,

I returned to my own dwelling very well satisfied with my day's journey, and particularly with the poor man; also I rejoiced to see that such little sanctuaries were provided for so many families in a time of such desolation. I observed, also, that as the violence of the plague had increased, so the ships which had families on board removed and went farther off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to sea, and put into such harbours and safe roads on the north coast, as they could best come at.

Indeed, the distress of the people at this seafaring end of the town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration; but, alas! this was a time when every one's private safety lay so near them, that they had no room to pity the distresses of others; for every one had death, as it were, at his door, and many even in their families, and knew not what to do, or whither to fly.

But as I am now talking of the time when the plague raged at the easternmost parts of the town; how for a long time the people of those parts had flattered themselves that they should escape, and how they were surprised when it came upon them as it did; for, indeed, it came upon them like an armed man when it did come; I say, this brings me back to the three poor men who wandered from Wapping, not knowing whither to go, or what to do, and who I mentioned before; one a biscuit-baker, one a sail-maker, and the other a joiner, all of Wapping, or thereabouts.

The sleepiness and security of that part, as I have observed, was such that they not only did not shift for themselves, as others did, but they boasted of being safe, and of safety being with them; and many people fled out of the city, and out of the infected suburbs to Wapping, Ratcliff, Limehouse, Poplar, and such places, as to places of security; and it is not at all unlikely that their doing this helped to bring the plague that way faster than it might otherwise have come. For, though I am much for people's flying away, and emptying such a town as this, upon the first appearance of a like visitation, and that all people, that have any possible retreat, should make use of it in time, and

be gone; yet, I must say, when all that will fly are gone, those that are left, and must stand it, should stand stock still where they are, and not shift from one end of the town, or one part of the town, to the other; for that is the bane and mischief of the whole, and they carry the plague from house to house in their very clothes.

I come back to my three men: their story has a moral in every part of it, and their whole conduct, and that of some who they joined with, is a pattern for all poor men to follow, or women either, if ever such a time comes again; and if there was no other end in recording it, I think this a very just one, whether my account be exactly according to the fact or no.

Two of them were said to be brothers, the one an old soldier, but now a biscuit-baker; the other a lame sailor, but now a sail-maker; the third a joiner. Says John, the biscuit-baker, one day to Thomas, his brother, the sail-maker, "Brother Tom, what will become of us? the plague grows hot in the city, and increases this way: what shall we do?"

"Truly," says Thomas, "I am at a great loss what to do; for, I find, if it comes down into Wapping, I shall be turned out of my lodging." And thus they began to talk of it beforehand.

John. Turned out of your lodging, Tom! If you are, I don't know who will take you in; for people are so afraid of one another now, there is no getting a lodging anywhere.

Tho. Why, the people where I lodge are good, civil people, and have kindness enough for me too; but they say I go abroad every day to my work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up, and letting nobody come near them.

John. Why, they are in the right, to be sure, if they resolve to venture staying in town.

Tho. Nay, I might even resolve to stay within doors too; for, except a suit of sails that my master has in hand, and which I am just a-finishing, I am like to get no more work a great while. There's no trade stirs now; workmen and

servants are turned off everywhere, so that I might be glad to be locked up too. But I do not see they will be willing to consent to that any more than to the other.

John. Why, what will you do then, brother? And what shall I do? for I am almost as bad as you. The people where I lodge are all gone into the country but a maid, and she is to go next week, and to shut the house quite up, so that I shall be turned adrift to the wide world before you; and I am resolved to go away too, if I knew but where to go.

Tho. We were both distracted we did not go away at first; then we might ha' travelled anywhere. There is no stirring now; we shall be starved if we pretend to go out of town; they won't let us have victuals – no, not for our money; nor let us come into the towns, much less into their houses.

John. And that which is almost as bad, I have but little money to help myself with neither.

Tho. As to that we might make shift. I have a little, though not much; but I tell you there 's no stirring on the road. I know a couple of poor honest men in our street have attempted to travel; and at Barnet, or Whetstone, or thereabout, the people offered to fire at them if they pretended to go forward; so they are came back again quite discouraged.

John. I would have ventured their fire if I had been there. If I had been denied food for my money, they should have seen me take it before their faces; and if I had tendered money for it, they could not have taken any course with me by the law.

Tho. You talk your old soldier's language, as if you were in the Low Countries now; but this is a serious thing. The people have good reason to keep anybody off that they are not satisfied are sound at such a time as this; and we must not plunder them.

John. No, brother, you mistake the case, and mistake me too. I would plunder nobody; but for any town upon the road to deny me leave to pass through the town in the open highway, and deny me provisions for my money, is to say

the town has a right to starve me to death, which cannot be true.

Tho. But they do not deny you liberty to go back again from whence you came, and therefore they do not starve you.

John. But the next town behind me will, by the same rule, deny me leave to go back, and so they do starve me between them; besides, there is no law to prohibit my travelling wherever I will on the road.

Tho. But there will be so much difficulty in disputing with them at every town on the road, that it is not for poor men to do it, or to undertake it, at such a time as this is especially.

John. Why, brother, our condition, at this rate, is worse than anybody's else; for we can neither go away nor stay here. I am of the same mind with the lepers of Samaria; "If we stay here, we are sure to die." I mean, especially as you and I are situated, without a dwelling-house of our own, and without lodging in anybody's else. There is no lying in the street at such a time as this; we had as good go into the dead-cart at once. Therefore, I say, if we stay here, we are sure to die; and if we go away, we can but die. I am resolved to begone.

Tho. You will go away? Whither will you go? and what can you do? I would as willingly go away as you, if I knew whither; but we have no acquaintance, no friends. Here we were born, and here we must die.

John. Look you, Tom, the whole kingdom is my native country as well as this town. You may as well say, I must not go out of my house if it is on fire, as that I must not go out of the town I was born in when it is infected with the plague. I was born in England, and have a right to live in it if I can.

Tho. But, you know, every vagrant person may, by the laws of England, be taken up, and passed back to their last legal settlement.

John. But how shall they make me vagrant? I desire only to travel on upon my lawful occasions.

Tho. What lawful occasions can we pretend to travel,

or rather wander, upon? They will not be put off with words.

John. Is not flying to save our lives a lawful occasion? and do they not all know that the fact is true? We cannot be said to dissemble.

Tho. But, suppose they let us pass, whither shall we go?

John. Anywhere to save our lives. It is time enough to consider that when we are got out of this town. If I am once out of this dreadful place, I care not where I go.

Tho. We shall be driven to great extremities. I know not what to think of it.

John. Well, Tom, consider of it a little.

This was about the beginning of July; and though the plague was come forward in the west and north parts of the town, yet all Wapping, as I have observed before, and Redriff, and Ratcliff, and Limehouse, and Poplar; in short, Deptford and Greenwich, all both sides of the river from the Hermitage, and from over against it, quite down to Blackwall, was entirely free. There had not one person died of the plague in all Stepney parish, and not one on the south side of Whitechapel-road—no, not in any parish; and yet the weekly bill was that very week risen up to 1006.

It was a fortnight after this before the two brothers met again, and then the case was a little altered, and the plague was exceedingly advanced, and the number greatly increased. The bill was up at 2785, and prodigiously increasing; though still both sides of the river, as below, kept pretty well. But some began to die in Redriff, and about five or six in Ratcliff-highway, when the sail-maker came to his brother John, express, and in some fright, for he was absolutely warned out of his lodging, and had only a week to provide himself. His brother John was in as bad a case, for he was quite out; and had only begged leave of his master, the biscuit-maker, to lodge in an outhouse belonging to his workhouse, where he only lay upon straw, with some biscuit sacks, or bread sacks, as they called them, laid upon it, and some of the same sacks to cover him.

Here they resolved, seeing all employment being at an end, and no work or wages to be had, they would make the best of their way to get out of the reach of the dreadful infection; and being as good husbands as they could, would endeavour to live upon what they had as long as it would last, and then work for more, if they could get work anywhere of any kind, let it be what it would.

While they were considering to put this resolution in practice in the best manner they could, the third man, who was acquainted very well with the sail-maker, came to know of the design, and got leave to be one of the number. And thus they prepared to set out.

It happened that they had not an equal share of money; but as the sail-maker, who had the best stock, was, besides his being lame, the most unfit to expect to get anything by working in the country, so he was content that what money they had should all go into one public stock, on condition that whatever any one of them could gain more than another, it should, without any grudging, be all added to the same public stock.

They resolved to load themselves with as little baggage as possible, because they resolved at first to travel on foot, and to go a great way, that they might, if possible, be effectually safe. And a great many consultations they had with themselves before they could agree about what way they should travel; which they were so far from adjusting, that even to the morning they set out they were not resolved on it.

At last the seaman put in a hint that determined it. 'First,' says he, 'the weather is very hot, and therefore I am for travelling north, that we may not have the sun upon our faces and beating on our breasts, which will heat and suffocate us; and I have been told,' says he, 'that it is not good to overheat our blood at a time when, for aught we know, the infection may be in the very air. In the next place,' says he, 'I am for going the way that may be contrary to the wind as it may blow when we set out, that we may not have the wind blow the air of the city on our backs as we go.' These two cautions were approved of, if it could be brought

so to hit that the wind might not be in the south when they set out to go north.

John, the baker, who had been a soldier, then put in his opinion. 'First,' says he, 'we none of us expect to get any lodging on the road, and it will be a little too hard to lie just in the open air, though it be warm weather, yet it may be wet and damp; and we have a double reason to take care of our healths at such a time as this. And therefore,' says he, 'you, brother Tom, that are a sail-maker, might easily make us a little tent, and I will undertake to set it up every night, and take it down, and a fig for all the inns in England. If we have a good tent over our heads, we shall do well enough.'

The joiner opposed this, and told them, let them leave that to him; he would undertake to build them a house every night with his hatchet and mallet, though he had no other tools, which should be fully to their satisfaction, and as good as a tent.

The soldier and the joiner disputed that point some time, but at last the soldier carried it for a tent; the only objection against it was, that it must be carried with them, and that would increase their baggage too much, the weather being hot. But the sail-maker had a piece of good hap fell in, which made that easy; for his master who he worked for, having a rope-walk as well as his sail-making trade, had a little poor horse that he made no use of then, and being willing to assist the three honest men, he gave them the horse for the carrying their baggage; also, for a small matter of three days work that his man did for him before he went, he let him have an old top-gallant sail, that was worn out, but was sufficient, and more than enough, to make a very good tent. The soldier showed how to shape it, and they soon, by his direction, made their tent, and fitted it with poles or staves for the purpose, and thus they were furnished for their journey; viz. three men, one tent, one horse, one gun; for the soldier would not go without arms, for now he said he was no more a biscuit-baker, but a trooper. The joiner had a small bag of tools, such as might be useful, if he should get any work abroad, as well for their subsistence as

his own. What money they had, they brought all into one public stock; and thus they began their journey. It seems that in the morning when they set out, the wind blew, as the sailor said, by his pocket-compass, at N.W. by W.; so they directed, or rather resolved to direct, their course N.W.

But then a difficulty came in their way, that as they set out from the hither end of Wapping, near the Hermitage, and that the plague was now very violent, especially on the north side of the city, as in Shoreditch and Cripplegate parish, they did not think it safe for them to go near those parts; so they went away east through Ratcliff-highway, as far as Ratcliff cross, and leaving Stepney church still on their left hand, being afraid to come up from Ratcliff-cross to Mile-end, because they must come just by the churchyard, and because the wind, that seemed to blow more from the west, blowed directly from the side of the city where the plague was hottest; so, I say, leaving Stepney, they fetched a long compass, and going to Poplar and Bromley, came into the great road just at Bow.

Here the watch placed upon Bow Bridge would have questioned them; but they, crossing the road into a narrow way that turns out of the hither end of the town of Bow, to Old-Ford, avoided any enquiry there, and travelled to Old-Ford. The constables everywhere were upon their guard, not so much it seems to stop people passing by, as to stop them from taking up their abode in their towns; and, withal, because of a report that was newly raised at that time, and that indeed was not very improbable, viz. that the poor people in London, being distressed, and starved for want of work, and by that means for want of bread, were up in arms, and had raised a tumult, and that they would come out to all the towns round to plunder for bread. This, I say, was only a rumour, and it was very well it was no more; but it was not so far off from being a reality as it has been thought, for in a few weeks more the poor people became so desperate by the calamity they suffered, that they were with great difficulty kept from running out into the fields and towns, and tearing all in pieces wherever they

came; and, as I have observed before, nothing hindered them but that the plague raged so violently, and fell in upon them so furiously, that they rather went to the grave by thousands than into the fields in mobs by thousands; for in the parts about the parish of St. Sepulchre's, Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Bishopgate, and Shoreditch, which were the places where the mob began to threaten, the distemper came on so furiously that there died in those few parishes, even then, before the plague was come to its height, no less than 5361 people in the first three weeks in August, when, at the same time, the parts about Wapping, Ratcliff, and Rotherhithe, were, as before described, hardly touched, or but very lightly; so that, in a word, though, as I said before, the good management of the Lord Mayor and justices did much to prevent the rage and desperation of the people from breaking out in rabbles and tumults, and, in short, from the poor plundering the rich; I say, though they did much, the dead-carts did more, for, as I have said, that, in five parishes only, there died above 5000 in twenty days, so there might be probably three times that number sick all that time, for some recovered, and great numbers fell sick every day, and died afterwards. Besides, I must still be allowed to say, that if the bills of mortality said five thousand, I always believed it was near twice as many in reality, there being no room to believe that the account they gave was right, or that, indeed, they were, among such confusions as I saw them in, in any condition to keep an exact account.

But to return to my travellers. Here they were only examined, and as they seemed rather coming from the country than from the city, they found the people easier with them; that they talked to them, let them come into a public-house, where the constable and his warders were, and gave them drink and some victuals, which greatly refreshed and encouraged them; and here it came into their heads to say, when they should be enquired of afterwards, not that they came from London, but that they came out of Essex.

To forward this little fraud, they obtained so much favour of the constable at Old-Ford, as to give them a certificate of their passing from Essex through that village, and that they had not been at London; which, though false in the common acceptation of London in the county, yet was literally true; Wapping or Ratcliff being no part either of the city or liberty.

This certificate, directed to the next constable, that was at Homerton, one of the hamlets of the parish of Hackney, was so serviceable to them, that it procured them not a free passage there only, but a full certificate of health from a justice of the peace; who, upon the constable's application, granted it without much difficulty. And thus they passed through the long divided town of Hackney (for it lay then in several separated hamlets), and travelled on till they came into the great north road, on the top of Stamford Hill.

By this time they began to be weary; and so, in the back road from Hackney, a little before it opened into the said great road, they resolved to set up their tent, and encamp for the first night; which they did accordingly, with this addition, that finding a barn, or a building like a barn, and first searching as well as they could to be sure there was nobody in it, they set up their tent, with the head of it against the barn; this they did also because the wind blew that night very high, and they were but young at such a way of lodging, as well as at the managing their tent.

Here they went to sleep; but the joiner, a grave and sober man, and not pleased with their lying at this loose rate the first night, could not sleep, and resolved, after trying to sleep to no purpose, that he would get out, and taking the gun in his hand, stand sentinel, and guard his companions. So, with the gun in his hand, he walked to and again before the barn, for that stood in the field near the road, but within the hedge. He had not been long upon the scout but he heard a noise of people coming on as if it had been a great number, and they came on, as he thought, directly towards the barn. He did not presently

awake his companions, but in a few minutes more their noise growing louder and louder, the biscuit-baker called to him and asked him what was the matter, and quickly started out too. The other being the lame sail-maker, and most weary, lay still in the tent.

As they expected, so the people who they had heard came on directly to the barn; when one of our travellers challenged, like soldiers upon the guard, with, "Who comes there?" The people did not answer immediately, but one of them speaking to another that was behind him, "Alas! alas! we are all disappointed," says he, "here are some people before us, the barn is taken up."

They all stopped upon that, as under some surprise; and it seems there was about thirteen of them in all, and some women among them. They consulted together what they should do; and by their discourse, our travellers soon found they were poor distressed people too, like themselves, seeking shelter and safety; and, besides, our travellers had no need to be afraid of their coming up to disturb them, for as soon as they heard the words, "Who comes there?" these could hear the women say, as if frighted, "Do not go near them; how do you know but they may have the plague?" And when one of the men said, "Let us but speak to them," the women said, "No, don't, by any means. We have escaped thus far, by the goodness of God; do not let us run into danger now, we beseech you."

Our travellers found by this time that they were a good, sober sort of people, and flying for their lives as they were; and as they were encouraged by it, so John said to the joiner, his comrade, "Let us encourage them too, as much as we can." So he called to them, "Hark ye, good people," says the joiner, "we find by your talk that you are fleeing from the same dreadful enemy as we are; do not be afraid of us, we are only three poor men of us. If you are free from the distemper, you shall not be hurt by us, we are not in the barn, but in a little tent here on the outside, and we will remove for you; we can set up our tent again immediately anywhere else." And upon this a parley began

between the joiner, whose name was Richard, and one of their men, who said his name was Ford.

Ford. And do you assure us that you are all sound men?

Richard. Nay, we are concerned to tell you of it, that you may not be uneasy, or think yourselves in danger; but you see we do not desire you should put yourselves into any danger, and therefore I tell you we have not made use of the barn, so we will remove from it that you may be safe and we also.

Ford. That is very kind and charitable. But if we have reason to be satisfied that you are sound and free from the visitation, why should we make you remove now you are settled in your lodging, and it may be are laid down to rest? We will go into the barn, if you please, to rest ourselves awhile, and we need not disturb you.

Rich. Well, but you are more than we are; I hope you will assure us that you are all of you sound too, for the danger is as great from you to us, as from us to you.

Ford. Blessed be God that some do escape, though it is but few; what may be our portion still, we know not, but hitherto we are preserved.

Rich. What part of the town do you come from? Was the plague come to the places where you lived?

Ford. Ay, ay, in a most frightful and terrible manner, or else we had not fled away as we do; but we believe there will be very few left alive behind us.

Rich. What part do you come from?

Ford. We are most of us of Cripplegate parish, only two or three of Clerkenwell parish, but on the hither side.

Rich. How then was it that you came away no sooner?

Ford We have been away some time, and kept together as well as we could at the hither end of Islington, where we got leave to lie in an old uninhabited house, and had some bedding and conveniences of our own that we brought with us; but the plague is come up into Islington too, and a house next door to our poor dwelling was infected and shut up, and we are come away in a fright.

Rich. And what way are you going?

Ford. As our lot shall cast us, we know not whither; but God will guide those that look up to Him.

They parleyed no farther at that time, but came all up to the barn, and with some difficulty got into it. There was nothing but hay in the barn, but it was almost full of that, and they accommodated themselves as well as they could, and went to rest; but our travellers observed, that before they went to sleep, an ancient man, who it seems was the father of one of the women, went to prayer with all the company, recommending themselves to the blessing and direction of Providence before they went to sleep.

It was soon day at that time of the year; and as Richard, the joiner, had kept guard the first part of the night, so John, the soldier, relieved him, and he had the post in the morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another It seems, when they left Islington, they intended to have gone north away to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, and there they would not let them pass; so they crossed over the fields and hills to the eastward, and came out at the Boarded river, and so avoiding the towns, they left Hornsey on the left hand, and Newington on the right hand, and came into the great road about Stamford-Hill on that side, as the three travellers had done on the other side. And now they had thoughts of going over the river in the marshes, and make forwards to Epping-Forest, where they hoped they should get leave to rest. It seems they were not poor, at least not so poor as to be in want; at least, they had enough to subsist them moderately for two or three months, when, as they said, they were in hopes the cold weather would check the infection, or at least the violence of it would have spent itself, and would abate, if it was only for want of people left alive to be infected.

This was much the fate of our three travellers, only that they seemed to be the better furnished for travelling, and had it in their view to go further off; for as to the first, they did not propose to go further than one day's journey, that so they might have intelligence, every two or three days, how things were at London.

But here our travellers found themselves under an unexpected inconvenience, namely, that of their horse; for, by means of the horse to carry their baggage, they were obliged to keep in the road, whereas the people of this other band went over the fields or roads, path or no path, way or no way, as they pleased; neither had they any occasion to pass through any town, or come near any town, other than to buy such things as they wanted for their necessary subsistence; and in that indeed they were put to much difficulty, of which in its place.

But our three travellers were obliged to keep the road, or else they must commit spoil, and do the country a great deal of damage, in breaking down fences and gates, to go over enclosed fields, which they were loath to do if they could help it.

Our three travellers, however, had a great mind to join themselves to this company, and take their lot with them; and, after some discourse, they laid aside their first design, which looked northward, and resolved to follow the other into Essex: so, in the morning they took up their tent and loaded their horse, and away they travelled all together.

They had some difficulty in passing the ferry at the river side, the ferryman being afraid of them; but, after some parley at a distance, the ferryman was content to bring his boat to a place distant from the usual ferry, and leave it there for them to take it; so, putting themselves over, he directed them to leave the boat, and he, having another boat, said he would fetch it again, which it seems, however, he did not do for above eight days.

Here, giving the ferryman money beforehand, they had a supply of victuals and drink, which he brought and left in the boat for them, but not without, as I said, having received the money beforehand. But now our travellers were at a great loss and difficulty how to get the horse over, the boat being small and not fit for it; and at last could not do it without unloading the baggage, and making him swim over.

From the river they travelled towards the forest; but

when they came to Walthamstow, the people of that town denied to admit them, as was the case everywhere; the constables and their watchmen kept them off at a distance, and parleyed with them. They gave the same account of themselves as before, but these gave no credit to what they said, giving it for a reason, that two or three companies had already come that way and made the like pretences, but that they had given several people the distemper in the towns where they had passed, and had been afterwards so hardly used by the country, though with justice too, as they had deserved, that, about Brentwood or that way, several of them perished in the fields, whether of the plague, or of mere want and distress, they could not tell.

This was a good reason, indeed, why the people of Walthamstow should be very cautious, and why they should resolve not to entertain anybody that they were not well satisfied of; but, as Richard the joiner, and one of the other men who parleyed with them, told them it was no reason why they should block up the roads, and refuse to let people pass through the town, and who asked nothing of them, but to go through the street; that, if their people were afraid of them, they might go into their houses and shut their doors; they neither would show them civility nor incivility, but go on about their business.

The constables and attendants, not to be persuaded by reason, continued obstinate, and would hearken to nothing; so the two men that talked with them went back to their fellows, to consult what was to be done. It was very discouraging in the whole, and they knew not what to do for a good while; but at last John the soldier and biscuit-baker, considering awhile, "Come," says he, "leave the rest of the parley to me." He had not appeared yet; so he sets the joiner Richard to work to cut some poles out of the trees, and shape them as like guns as he could, and, in a little time, he had five or six fair muskets, which, at a distance, would not be known; and about the part where the lock of a gun is, he caused them to wrap cloths and rags, such as they had, as soldiers do in wet weather to preserve the locks

of their pieces from rust; the rest was discoloured with clay or mud, such as they could get; and all this while the rest of them sat under the trees by his direction, in two or three bodies, where they made fires at a good distance from one another.

While this was doing, he advanced himself, and two or three with him, and set up their tent in the lane, within sight of the barrier which the townsmen had made, and set a sentinel just by it with the real gun, the only one they had, and who walked to and fro with the gun on his shoulder, so as that the people of the town might see them; also he tied the horse to a gate in the hedge just by, and got some dry sticks together, and kindled a fire on the other side of the tent, so that the people of the town could see the fire and the smoke, but could not see what they were doing at it.

After the country people had looked upon them very earnestly a great while, and by all that they could see, could not but suppose there were a great many in company, they began to be uneasy, not for their going away, but for staying where they were; and above all, perceiving they had horses and arms, for they had seen one horse and one gun at the tent, and they had seen others of them walk about the field on the inside of the hedge by the side of the lane with their muskets, as they took them to be, shouldered; I say, upon such a sight as this, you may be assured they were alarmed and terribly frighted; and it seems they went to a justice of the peace to know what they should do. What the justice advised them to I know not, but towards the evening, they called from the barrier, as above, to the sentinel at the tent.

"What do you want?" says John.

"Why, what do you intend to do?" says the constable.

"To do?" says John, "What would you have us to do?"

Const. Why don't you be gone? What do you stay there for?

John. Why do you stop us on the king's highway, and pretend to refuse us leave to go on our way?

Const. We are not bound to tell you the reason, though we did let you know it was because of the plague.

John. We told you we were all sound and free from the plague, which we were not bound to have satisfied you of; and yet you pretend to stop us on the highway.

Const. We have a right to stop it up, and our own safety obliges us to it; besides, this is not the king's highway, it is a way upon sufferance. You see here is a gate, and, if we do let people pass here, we make them pay toll.

John. We have a right to seek our own safety as well as you, and you may see we are flying for our lives, and it is very unchristian and unjust to stop us.

Const. You may go back from whence you came; we do not hinder you from that.

John. No, it is a stronger enemy than you that keeps us from doing that, or else we should not have come hither.

Const. Well, you may go any other way then.

John. No, no; I suppose you see we are able to send you going and all the people of your parish, and come through your town when we will, but, since you have stopped us here, we are content; you see we have encamped here, and here we will live; we hope you will furnish us with victuals.

Const. We furnish you! What mean you by that?

John. Why, you would not have us starve, would you? If you stop us here, you must keep us.

Const. You will be ill kept at our maintenance.

John. If you stint us, we shall make ourselves the better allowance.

Const. Why, you will not pretend to quarter upon us by force, will you?

John. We have offered no violence to you yet, why do you seem to oblige us to it? I am an old soldier and cannot starve; and if you think we shall be obliged to go back for want of provisions, you are mistaken.

Const. Since you threaten us, we shall take care to be strong enough for you. I have orders to raise the county upon you.

John. It is you that threaten, not we; and, since you are

for mischief, you cannot blame us if we do not give you time for it. We shall begin our march in a few minutes.*

Const. What is it you demand of us?

John. At first we desired nothing of you but leave to go through the town. We should have offered no injury to any of you, neither would you have had any injury or loss by us; we are not thieves, but poor people in distress, and flying from the dreadful plague in London, which devours thousands every week. We wonder how you could be so unmerciful.

Const. Self-preservation obliges us.

John. What! To shut up your compassion in a case of such distress as this?

Const. Well, if you will pass over the fields on your left hand, and behind that part of the town, I will endeavour to have gates opened for you.

John. Our horsemen cannot† pass with our baggage that way; it does not lead into the road that we want to go, and why should you force us out of the road? Besides, you have kept us here all day without any provisions but such as we brought with us; I think you ought to send us some provisions for our relief.

Const. If you will go another way, we will send you some provisions.

John. That is the way to have all the towns in the county stop up the ways against us.

Const. If they all furnish you with food, what will you be the worse? I see you have tents, you want no lodging.

John. Well; what quantity of provisions will you send us?

Const. How many are you?

John. Nay, we do not ask enough for all our company: we are in three companies. If you will send us bread for twenty men, and about six or seven women, for three days, and show us the way over the field you speak of, we desire

* This so frighted the constable and the people that were with him, that they immediately changed their note.

† They had but one horse among them.

not to put your people into any fear for us; we will go out of our way to oblige you, though we are as free from infection as you are.

Const. And will you assure us that your other people shall offer us no new disturbance?

John. No, no; you may depend on it.

Const. You must oblige yourself too, that none of your people shall come a step nearer than where the provisions we send you shall be set down.

John. I answer for it we will not.*

Accordingly they sent to the place twenty loaves of bread, and three or four large pieces of good beef, and opened some gates, through which they passed, but none of them had courage so much as to look out to see them go; and, as it was evening, if they had looked, they could not have seen them so as to know how few they were.

This was John the soldier's management; but this gave such an alarm to the county, that, had they really been two or three hundred, the whole county would have been raised upon them, and they would have been sent to prison, or perhaps knocked on the head.

They were soon made sensible of this; for, two days afterwards, they found several parties of horsemen, and footmen also, about, in pursuit of three companies of men armed, as they said, with muskets, who were broke out from London, and had the plague upon them; and that were not only spreading the distemper among the people, but plundering the country.

As they saw now the consequence of their case, they soon saw the danger they were in; so they resolved, by the advice also of the old soldier, to divide themselves again. John and his two comrades with the horse went away as if towards Waltham; the other in two companies, but all a little asunder, and went towards Epping.

* Here he called to one of his men, and bade him order Captain Richard and his people to march the lower way on the side of the marshes, and meet them in the forest; which was all a sham, for they had no Captain Richard, or any such company.

The first night they encamped all in the forest, and not far off of one another, but not setting up the tent, lest that should discover them. On the other hand, Richard went to work with his axe and his hatchet; and cutting down branches of trees, he built three tents or hovels, in which they all encamped with as much convenience as they could expect.

The provisions they had at Walthamstow, served them very plentifully this night; and as for the next, they left it to Providence. They had fared so well with the old soldier's conduct, that they now willingly made him their leader, and the first of his conduct appeared to be very good. He told them, that they were now at a proper distance enough from London; that, as they need not be immediately beholden to the county for relief, they ought to be as careful the country did not infect them, as that they did not infect the country; that what little money they had, they must be as frugal of as they could; that as he would not have them think of offering the country any violence, so they must endeavour to make the sense of their condition go as far with the country as it could. They all referred themselves to his direction; so they left their three houses standing, and the next day went away towards Epping; the captain also, for so they now called him, and his two fellow-travellers, laid aside their design of going to Waltham, and all went together.

When they came near Epping, they halted, choosing out a proper place in the open forest, not very near the highway but not far out of it, on the north side, under a little cluster of low pollard trees. Here they pitched their little camp, which consisted of three large tents or huts made of poles, which their carpenter, and such as were his assistants, cut down and fixed in the ground in a circle, binding all the small ends together at the top, and thickening the sides with boughs of trees and bushes, so that they were completely close and warm. They had, besides this, a little tent where the women lay by themselves, and a hut to put the horse in.

It happened that the next day, or the next but one, was market-day at Epping, when Captain John and one of the

other men went to market, and bought some provisions, that is to say, bread and some mutton and beef, and two of the women went separately, as if they had not belonged to the rest, and bought more. John took the horse to bring it home, and the sack, which the carpenter carried his tools in, to put it in; the carpenter went to work, and made them benches and stools to sit on, such as the wood he could get would afford, and a kind of a table to dine on.

They were taken no notice of for two or three days, but after that abundance of people ran out of the town to look at them, and all the country was alarmed about them. The people at first seemed afraid to come near them; and, on the other hand, they desired the people to keep off, for there was a rumour that the plague was at Waltham, and that it had been in Epping two or three days; so John called out to them not to come to them, "For," says he, "we are all whole and sound people here, and we would not have you bring the plague among us, nor pretend we brought it among you."

After this the parish officers came up to them, and parleyed with them at a distance, and desired to know who they were, and by what authority they pretended to fix their stand at that place? John answered very frankly, they were poor distressed people from London, who, foreseeing the misery they should be reduced to, if the plague spread into the city, had fled out in time for their lives, and, having no acquaintance or relations to fly to, had first taken up at Islington, but the plague being come into that town, were fled further; and as they supposed that the people of Epping might have refused them coming into their town, they had pitched their tents thus in the open field, and in the forest, being willing to bear all the hardships of such a disconsolate lodging, rather than have any one think, or be afraid, that they should receive injury by them.

At first the Epping people talked roughly to them, and told them they must remove; that this was no place for them; and that they pretended to be sound and well, but that they might be infected with the plague for aught they

knew, and might infect the whole country, and they could not suffer them there.

John argued very calmly with them a great while, and told them that London was the place by which they, that is, the townsmen of Epping and all the country round them subsisted; to whom they sold the produce of their lands, and out of whom they made the rent of their farms; and to be so cruel to the inhabitants of London, or to any of those by whom they gained so much, was very hard; and they would be loath to have it remembered hereafter, and have it told how barbarous, how unhospitable, and how unkind they were to the people of London when they fled from the face of the most terrible enemy in the world; that it would be enough to make the name of an Epping man hateful throughout all the city, and to have the rabble stone them in the very streets whenever they came so much as to market; that they were not yet secure from being visited themselves, and that, as he heard, Waltham was already; that they would think it very hard that when any of them fled from fear before they were touched, that they should be denied the liberty of lying so much as in the open fields.

The Epping men told them again that they, indeed, said they were sound and free from the infection, but that they had no assurance of it; and that it was reported that there had been a great rabble of people at Walthamstow, who made such pretences of being sound as they did, but that they threatened to plunder the town, and force their way whether the parish officers would or no; that there were near 200 of them, and had arms and tents like Low Country soldiers; that they extorted provisions from the town, by threatening them with living upon them at free-quarter, showing their arms, and talking in the language of soldiers; and that several of them being gone away towards Romford and Brentwood, the country had been infected by them, and the plague spread into both those large towns, so that the people durst not go to market there as usual; that it was very likely they were some of that party, and if so, they deserved to be sent to the county gaol, and be secured

till they had made satisfaction for the damage they had done, and for the terror and fright they had put the country into.

John answered that what other people had done was nothing to them; that they assured them they were all of one company; that they had never been more in number than they saw them at that time, (which, by the way, was very true); that they came out in two separate companies, but joined by the way, their cases being the same, that they were ready to give what account of themselves anybody could desire of them, and to give in their names and places of abode, that so they might be called to an account for any disorder that they might be guilty of; that the townsmen might see they were content to live hardly, and only desired a little room to breathe in on the forest where it was wholesome, for where it was not, they could not stay, and would decamp if they found it otherwise there.

"But," said the townsmen, "we have a great charge of poor upon our hands already, and we must take care not to increase it; we suppose you can give us no security against your being chargeable to our parish and to the inhabitants, any more than you can of being dangerous to us as to the infection."

"Why, look you," says John, "as to being chargeable to you, we hope we shall not; if you will relieve us with provisions for our present necessity, we will be very thankful; as we all lived without charity when we were at home, so we will oblige ourselves fully to repay you, if God please to bring us back to our own families and houses in safety, and to restore health to the people of London.

"As to our dying here, we assure you, if any of us die, we that survive will bury them, and put you to no expence, except it should be that we should all die, and then, indeed, the last man, not being able to bury himself, would put you to that single expence, which I am persuaded," says John, "he would leave enough behind him to pay you for the expence of.

"On the other hand," says John, "if you will shut up

all bowels of compassion, and not relieve us at all, we shall not extort any thing by violence, or steal from any one; but when what little we have is spent, if we perish for want, God's will be done."

John wrought so upon the townsmen, by talking thus rationally and smoothly to them, that they went away; and though they did not give any consent to their staying there, yet they did not molest them, and the poor people continued there three or four days longer without any disturbance. In this time they had got some remote acquaintance with a victualling-house at the outskirts of the town, to whom they called, at a distance, to bring some little things that they wanted, and which they caused to be set down at a distance, and always paid for very honestly.

During this time the younger people of the town came frequently pretty near them, and would stand and look at them, and sometimes talk with them at some space between; and particularly it was observed that the first Sabbath-day the poor people kept retired, worshipped God together, and were heard to sing psalms.

These things, and a quiet, inoffensive behaviour, began to get them the good opinion of the country, and people began to pity them and speak very well of them; the consequence of which was, that, upon the occasion of a very wet rainy night, a certain gentleman, who lived in the neighbourhood, sent them a little cart with twelve trusses or bundles of straw, as well for them to lodge upon as to cover and thatch their huts, and to keep them dry. The minister of a parish not far off, not knowing of the other, sent them also about two bushels of wheat, and half a bushel of white peas.

They were very thankful, to be sure, for this relief, and particularly the straw was a very great comfort to them; for though the ingenious carpenter had made frames for them to lie in, like troughs, and filled them with leaves of trees and such things as they could get, and had cut all their tent-cloth out to make cover-lids, yet they lay damp, and hard, and unwholesome till this straw came, which was to them

like feather beds; and, as John said, more welcome than feather-beds would have been at another time.

This gentleman and the minister having thus begun, and given an example of charity to these wanderers, others quickly followed, and they received every day some benevolence or other from the people, but chiefly from the gentlemen who dwelt in the country round about: some sent them chairs, stools, tables, and such household things as they gave notice they wanted; some sent them blankets, rugs, and coverlids; some earthenware, and some kitchen-ware for ordering their food.

Encouraged by this good usage, their carpenter, in a few days, built them a large shed or house with rafters, and a roof in form, and an upper floor, in which they lodged warm, for the weather began to be damp and cold in the beginning of September. But this house being very well thatched, and the sides and roof made very thick, kept out the cold well enough; he made also an earthen wall at one end, with a chimney in it; and another of the company, with a vast deal of trouble and pains, made a funnel to the chimney to carry out the smoke.

Here they lived very comfortably, though coarsely, till the beginning of September, when they had the bad news to hear, whether true or not, that the plague, which was very hot at Waltham-Abbey on one side, and Romford and Brentwood on the other side, was also come to Epping, to Woodford, and to most of the towns upon the forest; and which, as they said, was brought down among them chiefly by the higglers, and such people as went to and from London with provisions.

If this was true, it was an evident contradiction to that report which was afterwards spread all over England, but which, as I have said, I cannot confirm of my own knowledge, namely, that the market people, carrying provisions to the city, never got the infection, or carried it back into the country; both which, I have been assured, has been false.

It might be that they were preserved even beyond expectation, though not to a miracle; that abundance went

and came and were not touched, and that was much for the encouragement of the poor people of London, who had been completely miserable if the people that brought provisions to the markets had not been many times wonderfully preserved, or at least more preserved than could be reasonably expected.

But now these new inmates began to be disturbed more effectually, for the towns about them were really infected, and they began to be afraid to trust one another so much as to go abroad for such things as they wanted, and this pinched them very hard, for now they had little or nothing but what the charitable gentlemen of the country supplied them with; but, for their encouragement it happened that other gentlemen of the country, who had not sent them anything before, began to hear of them and supply them; and one sent them a large pig, that is to say, a porker; another two sheep, and another sent them a calf; in short, they had meat enough, and sometimes had cheese and milk, and all such things. They were chiefly put to it for bread, for when the gentlemen sent them corn, they had nowhere to bake it or to grind it; this made them eat the first two bushels of wheat that was sent them, in parched corn, as the Israelites of old did, without grinding or making bread of it.

At last they found means to carry their corn to a windmill, near Woodford, where they had it ground; and afterwards the biscuit-baker made a hearth so hollow and dry, that he could bake biscuit-cakes tolerably well; and thus they came into a condition to live without any assistance or supplies from the towns; and it was well they did, for the country was soon after fully infected, and about a hundred and twenty were said to have died of the distemper in the villages near them, which was a terrible thing to them.

On this they called a new council, and now the towns had no need to be afraid they should settle near them; but, on the contrary, several families of the poorer sort of the inhabitants quitted their houses and built huts in the forest, after the same manner as they had done. But it was observed that several of these poor people that had so removed had the sickness even in their huts or booths; the

reason of which was plain, namely, not because they removed into the air, but because they did not remove time enough; that is to say, not till by openly conversing with the other people their neighbours, they had the distemper upon them, or, as may be said, among them, and so carried it about them whither they went. Or, secondly, because they were not careful enough after they were safely removed out of the towns, not to come in again and mingle with the diseased people.

But be it which of these it will, when our travellers began to perceive that the plague was not only in the towns, but even in the tents and huts on the forest near them, they began then not only to be afraid, but to think of decamping and removing; for had they stayed, they would have been in manifest danger of their lives.

It is not to be wondered that they were greatly afflicted at being obliged to quit the place where they had been so kindly received, and where they had been treated with so much humanity and charity; but necessity, and the hazard of life, which they came out so far to preserve, prevailed with them, and they saw no remedy. John, however, thought of a remedy for their present misfortune, namely, that he would first acquaint that gentleman who was their principal benefactor with the distress they were in; and to crave his assistance and advice.

The good charitable gentleman encouraged them to quit the place, for fear they should be cut off from any retreat at all, by the violence of the distemper; but whither they should go, that he found very hard to direct them to. At last John asked of him whether he, being a justice of the peace, would give them certificates of health to other justices who they might come before, that so, whatever might be their lot, they might not be repulsed now they had been also so long from London. This his worship immediately granted, and gave them proper letters of health; and from thence they were at liberty to travel whither they pleased.

Accordingly, they had a full certificate of health,

intimating that they had resided in a village in the county of Essex so long; that being examined and scrutinized sufficiently, and having been retired from all conversation for above forty days, without any appearance of sickness, they were, therefore, certainly concluded to be sound men, and might be safely entertained anywhere; having at last removed rather for fear of the plague, which was come into such a town, rather than for having any signal of infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this certificate they removed, though with great reluctance; and John inclining not to go far from home, they moved toward the marshes on the side of Waltham. But here they found a man who, it seems, kept a weir or stop upon the river, made to raise the water for the barges which go up and down the river, and he terrified them with dismal stories of the sickness having been spread into all the towns on the river, and near the river, on the side of Middlesex and Hertfordshire; that is to say, into Waltham, Waltham-cross, Enfield, and Ware, and all the towns on the road, that they were afraid to go that way; though, it seems, the man imposed upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

However, it terrified them, and they resolved to move across the forest towards Romford and Brentwood; but they heard that there were numbers of people fled out of London that way, who lay up and down in the forest called Hainault Forest, reaching near Romford; and who, having no subsistence or habitation, not only lived oddly, and suffered great extremities in the woods and fields for want of relief, but were said to be made so desperate by those extremities, as that they offered many violences to the county, robbed, and plundered, and killed cattle, and the like; that others, building huts and hovels by the road-side, begged, and that with an importunity next door to demanding relief; so that the county was very uneasy, and had been obliged to take some of them up.

This, in the first place, intimated to them that they would be sure to find the charity and kindness of the

county, which they had found here where they were before, hardened and shut up against them; and that, on the other hand, they would be questioned wherever they came, and would be in danger of violence from others in like cases with themselves.

Upon all these considerations, John, their captain, in all their names, went back to their good friend and benefactor, who had relieved them before, and laying their case truly before him, humbly asked his advice; and he as kindly advised them to take up their old quarters again, or, if not, to remove but a little further out of the road, and directed them to a proper place for them; and as they really wanted some house, rather than huts, to shelter them at that time of the year, it growing on towards Michaelmas, they found an old decayed house, which had been formerly some cottage or little habitation, but was so out of repair as scarce habitable; and by the consent of a farmer, to whose farm it belonged, they got leave to make what use of it they could.

The ingenious joiner, and all the rest by his directions, went to work with it, and in a very few days made it capable to shelter them all, in case of bad weather; and in which there was an old chimney and an old oven, though both lying in ruins, yet they made them both fit for use; and raising additions, sheds and lean-to's on every side, they soon made the house capable to hold them all.

They chiefly wanted boards to make window shutters, floors, doors, and several other things; but as the gentlemen above favoured them, and the country was by that means made easy with them; and, above all, that they were known to be all sound and in good health, everybody helped them with what they could spare.

Here they encamped for good and all, and resolved to remove no more; they saw plainly how terribly alarmed that county was everywhere, at anybody that came from London; and that they should have no admittance anywhere but with the utmost difficulty, at least no friendly reception and assistance as they had received here.

Now although they received great assistance and encouragement from the country gentlemen, and from the people round about them, yet they were put to great straits, for the weather grew cold and wet in October and November, and they had not been used to so much hardship; so that they got cold in their limbs, and distempers, but never had the infection. And thus, about December, they came home to the city again.

I give this story thus at large, principally to give an account what became of the great numbers of people which immediately appeared in the city as soon as the sickness abated; for, as I have said, great numbers of those that were able, and had retreats in the country, fled to those retreats. So, when it was increased to such a frightful extremity as I have related, the middling people, who had not friends, fled to all parts of the country where they could get shelter, as well those that had money to relieve themselves, as those that had not. Those that had money always fled farthest, because they were able to subsist themselves; but those who were empty, suffered, as I have said, great hardships, and were often driven by necessity to relieve their wants at the expence of the country. By that means the country was made very uneasy at them, and sometimes took them up, though even then they scarce knew what to do with them; and were always very backward to punish them; but, often too, they forced them from place to place, till they were obliged to come back again to London.

I had about this time a little hardship put upon me which I was, at first, greatly afflicted at, and very much disturbed about; though, as it proved, it did not expose me to any disaster; and this was, being appointed by the Alderman of Portsoken ward, one of the examiners of the houses in the precinct where I lived. We had a large parish, and had no less than eighteen examiners, as the order called us: the people called us visitors. I endeavoured with all my might to be excused from such an employment, and used many arguments with the alderman's deputy to be excused; particularly, I alleged that I was against shutting up houses

at all, and that it would be very hard to oblige me to be an instrument in that which was against my judgment, and which I did verily believe would not answer the end it was intended for; but all the abatement I could get was only, that whereas the officer was appointed by my Lord Mayor to continue two months, I should be obliged to hold it but three weeks, on condition, nevertheless, that I could then get some other sufficient housekeeper to serve the rest of the time for me, which was, in short, but a very small favour, it being very difficult to get any man to accept of such an employment, that was fit to be entrusted with it.

It is true that shutting up of houses had one effect, which I am sensible was of moment; namely, it confined the distempered people, who would otherwise have been both very troublesome and very dangerous in their running about streets with the distemper upon them, which, when they were delirious, they would have done in a most frightful manner, as, indeed, they began to do at first very much, until they were restrained; nay, so very open they were, that the poor would go about and beg at people's doors, and say they had the plague upon them, and beg rags for their sores, or both, or anything that delirious nature happened to think of.

An infected person came, and knocked at the door of a citizen's house, where they knew him very well; the servant let him in, and being told the master of the house was above, he ran up, and came into the room to them as the whole family was at supper. They began to rise up a little surprised, not knowing what the matter was, but he bid them sit still,—he only came to take his leave of them. They asked him, "Why, Mr. ——, where are you going?" "Going!" says he; "I have got the sickness, and shall die to-morrow night." It is easy to believe, though not to describe, the consternation they were all in; the women and the man's daughters, which were but little girls, were frighted almost to death, and got up, one running out at one door, and one at another, some down stairs, and some up stairs, and getting together as well as they could, locked

themselves into their chambers, and screamed out at the window for help, as if they had been frighted out of their wits. The master, more composed than they, though both frighted and provoked, was going to lay hands on him, and throw him down stairs, being in a passion; but then considering a little the condition of the man, and the danger of touching him, horror seized his mind, and he stood still like one astonished. The poor distempered man, all this while, being as well diseased in his brain as in his body, stood still like one amazed; at length he turns round, "Ay," says he, with all the seeming calmness imaginable, "Is it so with you all? Are you all disturbed at me? Why then, I 'll e'en go home and die there," and so he goes immediately down stairs. The servant that had let him in goes down after him with a candle, but was afraid to go past him and open the door, so he stood on the stairs to see what he would do; the man went and opened the door, and went out and flung the door after him. It was some while before the family recovered the fright; but as no ill consequence attended, they have had occasion since to speak of it, you may be sure, with great satisfaction. Though the man was gone, it was some time, nay, as I heard, some days, before they recovered themselves of the hurry they were in; nor did they go up and down the house with any assurance, till they had burnt a great variety of fumes and perfumes in all the rooms, and made a great many smokes of pitch, of gunpowder, and of sulphur; all separately shifted, and washed their clothes, and the like. As to the poor man, whether he lived or died I do not remember.

I heard of one infected creature, who, running out of his bed, in his shirt, in the anguish and agony of his swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his shoes on and went to put on his coat; but the nurse resisting and snatching the coat from him, he threw her down, run over her, run down stairs, and into the street directly to the Thames, in his shirt, the nurse running after him, and calling the watch to stop him; but the watchmen, frighted at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on: upon which he ran down to the

Still-yard stairs, threw away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being coming in, as they call it, that is, running westward, he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon-stairs. where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there, naked as he was, for a good while, when, it being by that time high water, he takes the river again, and swam back to the Still-yard, landed, ran up the streets to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs, and into his bed again And that this terrible experiment cured him of the plague, that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were, that is to say, under his arms and his groin, and caused them to ripen and break; and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.

I got myself discharged of the dangerous office I was in, as soon as I could get another admitted, who I had obtained for a little money to accept of it; and so, instead of serving the two months which was directed, I was not above three weeks in it; and a great while too, considering it was in the month of August, at which time the distemper began to rage with great violence at our end of the town.

One thing I cannot omit here, and, indeed I thought it was extraordinary, at least, it seemed a remarkable hand of Divine justice, viz., that all the predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and what they called cunning men, conjurors, and the like, calculators of nativities, and dreamers of dreams, and such people, were gone and vanished, not one of them was to be found. I am verily persuaded, that a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates; and, indeed, their gain was but too great for a time, through the madness and folly of the people; but now they were silent, many of them went to their long home, not able to foretell their own fate, or to calculate their own nativities. Some have been critical enough to say, that every one of them died. I dare not affirm that; but this I

must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the calamity was over.

But to return to my particular observations during this dreadful part of the visitation. I am now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever London saw; for, by all the accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it; the number in the weekly bill amounting to almost 40,000, from the 22nd of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks. The particulars of the bills are as follows: viz.—

From August the 22nd to the 29th . . .	7,496
To the 5th of September . . .	8,252
To the 12th	7,690
To the 19th	8,297
To the 26th	6,460
	38,195

This was a prodigious number of itself; but if I should add the reasons which I have to believe that this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me make no scruple to believe, there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the city, at that time, was inexpressible; the terror was so great at last, that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead began to fail them; nay, several of them died, although they had the distemper before, and were recovered; and some of them dropped down when they have been carrying the bodies, even at the pit side, and just ready to throw in; and this confusion was greater in the city, because they had flattered themselves with hopes of escaping, and thought the bitterness of death was past. One cart, they told us, going up Shoreditch, was forsaken of the drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the cart, and left

the bodies, some thrown out here, some there, in a dismal manner. Another cart was, it seems, found in the great pit in Finsbury-fields, the driver being dead, or having been gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near it, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also. It was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and that the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies; but that, I suppose, could not be certain.

In our parish of Aldgate, the dead carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the churchyard gate, full of dead bodies; but neither bellman or driver, or any one else with it. Neither in these, or many other cases, did they know what bodies they had in their cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of balconies and out of windows; and sometimes the bearers brought them to the cart, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

It remains now that I should say something of the merciful part of this terrible judgment. The last week in September, the plague being come to its crisis, its fury began to assuage. I remember my friend, Dr. Heath, coming to see me the week before, told me he was sure that the violence of it would assuage in a few days; but when I saw the weekly bill of that week, which was the highest of the whole year, being 8297 of all diseases, I upbraided him with it, and asked him what he had made his judgment from? His answer, however, was not so much to seek, as I thought it would have been. "Look you," says he, "by the number which are at this time sick and infected, there should have been 20,000 dead the last week, instead of 8000, if the inveterate mortal contagion had been as it was two weeks ago; for then it ordinarily killed in two or three days, now not under eight or ten; and then not above one in five recovered; whereas, I have observed, that now not above two in five miscarry; and observe it from me, the next bill will decrease, and you will see many more people recover than used to do; for

though a vast multitude are now everywhere infected, and as many every day fall sick, yet there will not so many die as there did, for the malignity of the distemper is abated"; adding, that he began now to hope, nay, more than hope, that the infection had passed its crisis, and was going off; and accordingly so it was, for the next week being, as I said, the last in September, the bill decreased almost 2000.

It is true the plague was still at a frightful height, and the next bill was no less than 6460, and the next to that, 5720; but still my friend's observation was just, and it did appear the people did recover faster, and more in number than they used to do; and indeed, if it had not been so, what had been the condition of the city of London? for, according to my friend, there were not fewer than 60,000 people at that time infected, whereof, as above, 20,477 died, and near 40,000 recovered; whereas had it been as it was before, 50,000 of that number would very probably have died, if not more, and 50,000 more would have sickened; for, in a word, the whole mass of people began to sicken, and it looked as if none would escape.

But this remark of my friend's appeared more evident in a few weeks more, for the decrease went on, and another week in October it decreased 1849, so that the number dead of the plague was but 2665; and the next week it decreased 1413 more; and yet it was seen plainly that there was abundance of people sick, nay, abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but as above, the malignity of the disease abated.

Such is the precipitant disposition of our people (whether it is so or not all over the world, that is none of my particular business to inquire, but I saw it apparently here), that as upon the first fright of the infection they shunned one another, and fled from one another's houses, and from the city, with an unaccountable, and, as I thought, unnecessary fright; so now, upon this notion spreading, viz., that the distemper was not so catching as formerly, and that if it was catched it was not so mortal, and seeing abundance of people who really fell sick, recover again daily, they took to such a

precipitant courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves, and of the infection, that they made no more of the plague than of an ordinary fever, nor indeed so much. They not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them that were running, and consequently contagious, but eat and drank with them; nay, into their houses to visit them; and even, as I was told, into their very chambers where they lay sick.

The physicians opposed this thoughtless humour of the people with all their might, and gave out printed directions, spreading them all over the city and suburbs, advising the people to continue reserved and to use still the utmost caution in their ordinary conduct, notwithstanding the decrease of the distemper; terrifying them with the danger of bringing a relapse upon the whole city, and telling them how such a relapse might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole visitation that had been already; with many arguments and reasons to explain and prove that part to them, and which are too long to repeat here.

But it was all to no purpose; the audacious creatures were so possessed with the first joy, and so surprised with the satisfaction of seeing a vast decrease in the weekly bills, that they were impenetrable by any new terrors, and would not be persuaded, but that the bitterness of death was passed; and it was to no more purpose to talk to them than to an east wind; but they opened shops, went about streets, did business, and conversed with anybody that came in their way to converse with, whether with business or without; neither inquiring of their health, or so much as being apprehensive of any danger from them, though they knew them not to be sound.

This imprudent rash conduct cost a great many their lives, who had with great care and caution shut themselves up, and kept retired as it were from all mankind, and had by that means, under God's Providence, been preserved through all the heat of that infection.

This rash and foolish conduct, I say, of the people went so far that the ministers took notice to them of it at last,

and laid before them both the folly and danger of it: and this checked it a little, so that they grew more cautious; but it had another effect which they could not check, for as the first rumour had spread, not over the city only, but into the country, it had the like effect, and the people were so tired with being so long from London, and so eager to come back, that they flocked to town without fear or forecast, and began to show themselves in the streets, as if all the danger was over. It was indeed surprising to see it, for though there died still from 1000 to 1800 a-week, yet the people flocked to town as if all had been well.

The consequence of this was, that the bills increased again 400 the very first week in November; and, if I might believe the physicans, there was above 3000 fell sick that week, most of them new comers too.

One John Cock, a barber in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was an eminent example of this; I mean of the hasty return of the people when the plague was abated. This John Cock had left the town with his whole family, and locked up his house, and was gone into the country as many others did; and finding the plague so decreased in November, that there died but 905 per week, of all diseases, he ventured home again; he had in his family ten persons, that is to say, himself and wife, five children, two apprentices, and a maid servant; he had not been returned to his house above a week, and began to open his shop and carry on his trade, but the distemper broke out in his family, and within about five days they all died, except one; that is to say, himself, his wife, all his five children, and his two apprentices; and only the maid remained alive.

But the mercy of God was greater to the rest than we had reason to expect; for the malignity, as I have said, of the distemper was spent, the contagion was exhausted, and also the winter weather came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts; and this increasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return. There were, indeed, some returns of the distemper, even in the month of December,

and the bills increased near 100, but it went off again, and so in a short while things began to return to their own channel. And wonderful it was to see how populous the city was again all on a sudden; so that a stranger could not miss the numbers that were lost, neither was there any miss of the inhabitants as to their dwellings; few or no empty houses were to be seen, or if there were some, there was no want of tenants for them.

I wish I could say that, as the city had a new face, so the manners of the people had a new appearance. I doubt not but there were many that retained a sincere sense of their deliverance, and that were heartily thankful to that Sovereign Hand that had protected them in so dangerous a time, it would be very uncharitable to judge otherwise in a city so populous, and where the people were so devout as they were here in the time of the visitation itself; but, except what of this was to be found in particular families and faces, it must be acknowledged that the general practice of the people was just as it was before, and very little difference was to be seen.

Some, indeed, said things were worse, that the morals of the people declined from this very time, that the people, hardened by the danger they had been in, like seamen after a storm is over, were more wicked and more stupid, more bold and hardened in their vices and immoralities than they were before: but I will not carry it so far neither. It would take up a history of no small length to give a particular of all the gradations by which the course of things in this city came to be restored again, and to run in their own channel as they did before.

Some parts of England were now infected as violently as London had been; the cities of Norwich, Peterborough, Lincoln, Colchester, and other places were now visited; and the magistrates of London began to set rules for our conduct, as to corresponding with those cities. It is true, we could not pretend to forbid their people coming to London, because it was impossible to know them asunder; so, after many consultations, the Lord Mayor and court of Aldermen

were obliged to drop it: all they could do, was to warn and caution the people, not to entertain in their houses, or converse with any people, who they knew came from such infected places.

But they might as well have talked to the air, for the people of London thought themselves so plague-free now, that they were past all admonitions; they seemed to depend upon it, that the air was restored, and that the air was, like a man that had had the small-pox, not capable of being infected again. This revived that notion that the infection was all in the air, that there was no such thing as contagion from the sick people to the sound; and so strongly did this whimsy prevail among people, that they run altogether promiscuously, sick and well; not the Mohammedans who, prepossessed with the principle of predestination, value nothing of contagion, let it be in what it will, could be more obstinate than the people of London; they that were perfectly sound, and came out of the wholesome air, as we call it, into the city, made nothing of going into the same houses and chambers, nay, even into the same beds, with those that had the distemper upon them, and were not recovered.

Some, indeed, paid for their audacious boldness with the price of their lives; an infinite number fell sick, and the physicians had more work than ever, only with this difference, that more of their patients recovered, that is to say, they generally recovered; but certainly there were more people infected, and fell sick now, when there did not die above 1000 or 1200 in a week, than there was when there died 5000 or 6000 a week; so entirely negligent were the people at that time, in the great and dangerous case of health and infection, and so ill were they able to take or accept of the advice of those who cautioned them for their good.

The people being thus returned, as it were in general, it was very strange to find that, in their enquiring after their friends, some whole families were so entirely swept away, that there was no remembrance of them left; neither was

anybody to be found to possess or show any title to that little they had left; for in such cases, what was to be found was generally embezzled and purloined, some gone one way, some another.

It was said such abandoned effects came to the king as the universal heir; upon which, we are told, and I suppose it was in part true, that the king granted all such, as deodands, to the Lord Mayor and court of Aldermen of London, to be applied to the use of the poor, of whom there were very many. For it is to be observed, that though the occasions of relief and the objects of distress were very many more in the time of the violence of the plague, than now after all was over; yet the distress of the poor was more now, a great deal than it was then, because all the sluices of general charity were now shut; people supposed the main occasion to be over, and so stopped their hands; whereas particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of those that were poor was very great indeed.

Great was the reproach thrown on those physicians who left their patients during the sickness; and now they came to town again, nobody cared to employ them; they were called deserters, and frequently bills were set up upon their doors, and written, "Here is a doctor to be let!" So that several of those physicians were fain, for a while, to sit still and look about them, or at least remove their dwellings and set up in new places, and among new acquaintance. The like was the case with the clergy, who the people were indeed very abusive to, writing verses and scandalous reflections upon them; setting upon the church door, "Here is a pulpit to be let"; or sometimes, "To be sold"; which was worse.

It was not the least of our misfortunes that, with our infection, when it ceased, there did not cease the spirit of strife and contention, slander and reproach, which was really the great troubler of the nation's peace before; it was said to be the remains of the old animosities which had so lately involved us all in blood and disorder. But as the late Act of Indemnity had laid asleep the quarrel itself, so the

Government had recommended family and personal peace, upon all occasions, to the whole nation.

But it could not be obtained, and particularly after the ceasing of the plague in London, when any one that had seen the condition which the people had been in, and how they caressed one another at that time, promised to have more charity for the future, and to raise no more reproaches; I say, any one that had seen them then would have thought they would have come together with another spirit at last. But, I say, it could not be obtained; the quarrel remained, the Church and the Presbyterians were incompatible. As soon as the plague was removed, the dissenting outed ministers, who had supplied the pulpits which were deserted by the incumbents, retired; they could expect no other but that they should immediately fall upon them and harass them with their penal laws, accept their preaching while they were sick, and persecute them as soon as they were recovered again; this, even we, that were of the Church, thought hard, and could by no means approve of it.

But it was the Government, and we could say nothing to hinder it; we could only say it was not our doing, and we could not answer for it.

On the other hand, the dissenters reproaching those ministers of the Church with going away and deserting their charge, abandoning the people in their danger, and when they had the most need of comfort, and the like, this we could by no means approve; for all men have not the same faith and the same courage, and the scripture commands us to judge the most favourably, and according to charity.

A plague is a formidable enemy, and is armed with terrors that every man is not sufficiently fortified to resist, or prepared to stand the shock against. It is very certain that a great many of the clergy, who were in circumstances to do it, withdrew, and fled for the safety of their lives; but it is true, also, that a great many of them stayed, and many of them fell in the calamity, and in discharge of their duty.

It is true some of the dissenting turned-out ministers

stayed, and their courage is to be commended and highly valued; but these were not abundance. It cannot be said that they all stayed, and that none retired into the country, any more than it can be said of the Church clergy that they all went away; neither did all those that went away go without substituting curates and others in their places, to do the offices needful, and to visit the sick as far as it was practicable; so that, upon the whole, an allowance of charity might have been made on both sides, and we should have considered that such a time as this of 1665 is not to be paralleled in history, and that it is not the stoutest courage that will always support men in such cases. I had not said this, but had rather chosen to record the courage and religious zeal of those on both sides, who did hazard themselves for the service of the poor people in their distress, without remembering that any failed in their duty, on either side, but the want of temper among us has made the contrary to this necessary; some that stayed, not only boasting too much of themselves, but reviling those that fled, branding them with cowardice, deserting their flocks, and acting the part of the hireling, and the like. I recommend it to the charity of all good people to look back, and reflect duly upon the terrors of the time, and whoever does so will see that it is not an ordinary strength that could support it; it was not like appearing at the head of an army, or charging a body of horse in the field; but it was charging Death itself on his pale horse. To stay was indeed to die, and it could be esteemed nothing less; especially as things appeared at the latter end of August and the beginning of September, and as there was reason to expect them at that time; for no man expected, and I dare say believed, that the distemper would take so sudden a turn as it did, and fall immediately 2000 in a week, when there was such a prodigious number of people sick at that time as it was known there was; and then it was that many shifted away that had stayed most of the time before.

Besides, if God gave strength to some more than to others, was it to boast of their ability to abide the stroke, and

upbraid those that had not the same gift and support, or ought they not rather to have been humble and thankful, if they were rendered more useful than their brethren?

I think it ought to be recorded to the honour of such men, as well clergy as physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, magistrates, and officers of every kind, as also all useful people, who ventured their lives in discharge of their duty, as most certainly all such as stayed did to the last degree; and several of all these kinds did not only venture, but lost their lives on that sad occasion.

I would be glad if I could close the account of this melancholy year with some particular examples, historically, I mean of the thankfulness to God our Preserver, for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly the circumstances of the deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it; the circumstances of the deliverance were, indeed, very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already, and, particularly, the dreadful condition which we were all in, when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop of the infection.

Nothing but the immediate finger of God, nothing but Omnipotent Power could have done it! The contagion despised all medicine; death raged in every corner: and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all and every thing that had a soul. Men everywhere began to despair, every heart failed them for fear; people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in the very faces and countenances of the people.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, vain was the help of man, I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate, even of itself; and the malignity declining, as I have said, though infinite numbers were sick, yet fewer died, and the very first week's bill decreased 1843, a vast number indeed!

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in

the very countenances of the people, that Thursday morning, when the weekly bill came out. It might have been perceived in their countenances, that a secret surprise and smile of joy sat on everybody's face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side of the way with one another before; where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows, and call from one house to another, and ask how they did, and if they had heard the good news, that the plague was abated; some would return when they said "Good news," and ask, "What good news?" and when they answered that the plague was abated, and the bills decreased almost 2000, they would cry out, "God be praised!" and would weep aloud for joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and such was the joy of the people, that it was, as it were, life to them from the grave. I could almost set down as many extravagant things done in the excess of their joy as of their grief; but that would be to lessen the value of it.

It was a common thing to meet people in the street, that were strangers, and that we knew nothing at all of, expressing their surprise. Going one day through Aldgate, and a pretty many people being passing and repassing, there comes a man out of the end of the Minories, and looking a little up the street and down, he throws his hands abroad, "Lord, what an alteration is here! Why, last week I came along here, and hardly anybody was to be seen." Another man, I heard him, adds to his words, "'T is all wonderful; 't is all a dream." "Blessed be God!" says a third man, "and let us give thanks to Him, for 't is all His own doing." Human help and human skill was at an end. These were all strangers to one another; but such salutations as these were frequent in the street every day; and in spite of a loose behaviour, the very common people went along the streets giving God thanks for their deliverance.

It was now, as I said before, the people had cast off all apprehensions, and that too fast; indeed we were no more afraid, now, to pass by a man with a white cap upon his

head, or with a cloth wrapt round his neck, or with his leg limping, occasioned by the sores in his groin, all which were frightful to the last degree but the week before; but now the street was full of them, and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance; and I should wrong them very much if I should not acknowledge that I believe many of them were really thankful; but I must own, that for the generality of the people it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the children of Israel, after their being delivered from the host of Pharaoh, when they passed the Red Sea, and looked back and saw the Egyptians overwhelmed in the water, viz., "That they sang His praise, but they soon forgot His works."

I can go no further here. I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into the unpleasant work of reflecting, whatever cause there was for it, upon the unthankfulness and return of all manner of wickedness among us, which I was so much an eye-witness of myself. I shall conclude the account of this calamitous year, therefore, with a coarse but a sincere stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums, the same year they were written:—

A dreadful plague in London was,
  In the year sixty-five,
Which swept an hundred thousands souls
  Away.—Yet I alive!

H. F.

NOTES

Page xv. *Continued all the while in London.* The original title of the book was, "A Journal of the Plague Year, being observations or memorials of the most remarkable occurrences, as well public as private, which happened in London during the last great visitation in 1665, written by a citizen who continued all the while in London, never made public before."

1. 3 *The plague was returned.* The plague of 1665 was the seventh plague that had visited England since 1592. The plague years previous to 1665 were 1592, 1603, 1625 (spoken of, on account of the severity of the plague, as "that never-to-be-forgotten year"), 1630, 1636, 1637, 1638. But severe as the mortality had been in these years, it was trifling compared with that in 1665.

9 *Come.* The reader will notice a good deal of what we should call 'looseness' in grammar. In some instances it is probably merely the inaccuracy of the printer, in others it shows a difference between the idiom of that day and ours. The commonest instances are the use of singular for plural verbs and *vice versa*, and carelessness as to the cases of the relative pronoun (*cf.* p. 3, l. 4; p. 5, l. 10). Printed books of this time also show a great indifference to spelling and the use of capitals. Capitals are used indiscriminately for nearly all substantives, and sometimes, possibly for the sake of emphasis, for many adjectives and verbs. This text is taken from the first edition of 1722, and represents nearly all the grammatical irregularities. The spelling and use of capital letters follow the modern custom.

11 *Newspapers.* The first real newspaper was established in 1663 by Sir Roger l'Estrange, and was called the *Public Intelligencer*. The *London Gazette* appeared in 1642; but the first number of the existing series was published in 1665 at Oxford, where the Court was staying because of the plague. It was afterwards published in London. In 1695 the censorship of the Press was abolished, and newspapers multiplied rapidly. Thus in 1724 there were three daily and six weekly papers, besides ten evening papers, which appeared three times a week.

Page 1.

26 *Drury-lane.* This is west of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and was, of course, to Defoe the "other end [or west end] of London" (see p. 12, l. 28), and was outside the city.

2. 8 *Bills of mortality.* These were weekly returns, compiled from the Parish Registers, and issued in London by the Company of Parish Clerks. They were first issued in 1598, and were the only means of providing a census. The *hall* will be that of the Company. The district included in the returns comprised ninety-seven parishes in London within the walls, sixteen parishes in London without the walls, five in Westminster, and twelve out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey.

3. 4 *Was.* See note on p. 1, l. 9.

5 *Spotted fever.* The old name for typhus fever.

18 *Holborn.* This name seems to be equivalent to 'Hole-bourne.' The stream flowed in a deep hollow between high banks. Its source was at Haverstock Hill, and it entered the Thames at Blackfriars. The tidal part of the stream was called the Fleet. The lower part of its course is identical with Faringdon Road and Faringdon Street, but it is now entirely underground. Holborn Hill led to the bridge over the Hole-bourne, and Fleet Street to the bridge over the Fleet. (Loftie, *Hist. London.*)

21 *Stocks Market.* This market received its name from the stocks which were erected there. The Mansion House was built on the site of the market in 1738.

30 *The ninety-seven parishes; i.e.* all London within the walls; the City proper. (See above.)

35 *City or liberties.* The word 'liberty' means a place where any special jurisdiction or franchise was exercised. (*a*) The *liberties* in this passage means those parishes which, though outside the walls of London, were yet under the jurisdiction of the City, and enjoyed all its privileges. They were therefore exempt or free from the jurisdiction of the County Courts; they were to all intents a part and parcel of the City. (*b*) There were also within the City boundary certain districts which were exempt from the jurisdiction of the City, and claimed to be subject to courts of their own—such as the Liberty of the Rolls, the Liberty of the Tower, the Liberty of the Clink in Southwark. In these liberties the City magistrates had no authority, and hence they tended to become the resort of criminals. Throughout this book the word *liberties* will bear the first of these two meanings.

5. 10 *Who.* See note on *Come*, p. 1, l. 9.

16 *I lived*, &c. Defoe's supposed dwelling-place may be seen on the map. Whitechapel Bars form the entrance to the liberty or parish outside the walls. The entrances to all these extra-mural parishes were marked by bars; Temple Bar remained till quite lately. The gates were the entrances in the old walls into London proper. The district of Whitechapel owes its name to the church of St. Mary. It was a chapel of ease to St. Dunstan's, Stepney, and was white outside. (Noorthouck, *Hist. London.*)

7. 11 *Family. Cf.* the Latin word *familia*, which meant a household of slaves.

21 *Master, save thyself.* An allusion to St. Mark xv. 30.

8. 13 *War; i.e.* the Civil War.

13. 14 *Spared.* The 1722 edition has "orspared," which seems to be a printer's error for 'spared.'

16. 18 *Akeldama.* Field of blood. *Cf.* Acts i. 19.

28 *Phlegmatic hypochondriac part.* Temperaments were classified, according to the 'humours,' into four classes—the sanguineous, bilious, phlegmatic, and melancholic—according as the heart, liver, head, or spleen were supposed to be predominant in modifying the humours.

31 *Comets.* An account of these comets may be found in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. i. It seems that, as a matter of fact, the flaming comet came in 1665 and the dull comet in 1666.

17. 17 *Natural causes.* It was in this very year of the plague that Sir Isaac Newton discovered the laws of gravitation, and was thus enabled to explain the principles which regulate the movements of the heavenly bodies.

18. 3 *Lily's Almanack.* William Lily, M.D., famous for his astrological writings, was born in 1602. He gained great fame by his pretended skill in casting nativities. The theory of astrology was that the life of a man might be predicted from a calculation of the position of the stars and planets at the time of his birth, and the movements of the heavenly bodies were supposed to exercise an influence on all human affairs. Lily wrote a history of his life and times, and died in 1681.

3 *Gadbury's alogical predictions.* Gadbury was a pupil and afterwards a rival of Lily. He published in 1665 a pamphlet called *London's Deliverance Predicted.* It is a curious mixture of religion and astrology, and exactly calculated to appeal to the popular fancy. He gravely discusses whether the plague be catching, and decides that it is not, advises people not to fly from London, and says, curiously enough, that this plague was foretold by astrology and will cease in September. This was a lucky guess or more probably the result of comparing notices of former plagues. 'Alogical' may be an error for 'astrological.' Gadbury, like his master, managed to escape the plague, apparently by flight, notwithstanding the advice in his pamphlet,

Page 18.

7 *Britain's Remembrancer.* A book with this title was published in 1628. It contains "A Narration of the Plague lately past, a Declaration of the Mischief present, and a Prediction of Judgments to come (if Repentance prevent not). It is dedicated (for the glory of God) to Posteritie and to these times (if they please) by George Wither." Defoe probably confused this book with a *Memorandum to London occasioned by the Pestilence with a warning piece to London*, by the same author. This did actually appear in 1665. Wither was one of the most productive and popular poets of his day. He is now best known by the lines beginning—

"Shall I, wasting in despair,
Die because a woman's fair?"

10 *Enthusiastically. Cf.* p. 42, l. 10, and note.

20. 21 *Petty-France.* This is now New Broad Street. Petty-France, in Westminster, was so called as being the quarter of the French Protestants who fled from France in 1685, and some such occasion may have given the name to the court in Bishopsgate.

21. 13 *Vapours; i.e.* fits of melancholy, humours of the mind. See note on p. 16, l. 28. Cf. Shakspeare, 2 *Henry IV.* iv. 3, "It (*i.e.* sherris sack) ascends me into the brain; dries me there all the foolish and dull and crudy vapours which environ it." Ben Jonson talks of vapours of the spleen; and by Congreve's time (1629–1729) 'vapours' are a recognised disease of the mind. (Oliphant, *New English.*)

22. 3 *Moderate weather*, &c. It has been said that Defoe is inaccurate here, and that the air was unusually still and heavy; but from the *Collection of Scarce Pieces* (see Introduction, p. xiv.), it appears that Defoe's account is correct.

15 *Quickening; i.e.* making them alive. A.S. *cwic*, living. So we have 'the quick of the nail,' 'quicklime,' 'quicksilver,' 'quick-set.' (See Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*)

36 *Breaches*, &c. This refers to the Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Act, passed in 1662 and 1663.

23. 38 *Friar Bacon's brazen head.* Roger Bacon, the great Franciscan friar, who taught at Oxford (1240–1292), was, in popular belief, a great magician, and the *Famous Historie of Friar Bacon* was a favourite story. Bacon, we are told, wanted to keep England from conquests, and so make himself famous. This he found was only to be done by making a head of brass and hearing it speak. "Then might he be able to wall all England about with brass." He made the head, and, watching to hear it speak till he was worn out, left his servant with strict orders to call him directly the head spoke. Presently the head uttered the words, "Time is"; but the servant thought this was not sufficiently important to justify him in calling his master. In half an hour it spoke again, "Time was." This was no better than before. In another half-hour it said, "Time is past"; and "therewith fell down. And presently followed a terrible noise, with strange flashes of fire." So Bacon's toil was in vain.

24. 3 *Mother Shipton.* Ursula Shipton, said to have been the daughter of Agatha Shipton and the devil, was a poor deformed old body, who lived at Knaresborough, near York, in the time of Henry VIII. She was credited with prophesying that Wolsey, when he left his palace one day, would never arrive at York, and that Ouse Bridge would be destroyed. These predictions were fulfilled, and many others were attributed to her. The lines which foretold the introduction of steam, electricity, &c., and ended—

"The world to an end shall come
In the year eighteen hundred and eighty-one,"

and were frequently quoted as a prophecy of Mother Shipton's twenty years ago, are said to be a forgery of one Charles Hindley in 1862. (See *Mother Shipton*, by W. H. Harrison, London, 1881.)

3 *Merlin's Head.* This is a reference to the Merlin famous in the story of King Arthur. A new edition of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* had appeared in 1634. Merlin was as popular a hero in tales of magic as Friar Bacon.

25. 6 *Jack-puddings;* clowns, comic fellows. Hone, in the *Every-day Book*, says, "Common people are apt to give to some well-known facetious personage the name of a favourite dish; hence the 'jack-pudding' of the English, the 'jean-potage' of the French, and the 'macaroni' of the Italians."

6 *Merry-andrews.* Hone gives two explanations: (1) From *An drieu*='arch druid.' (2) From Andrew Borde, a writer of the sixteenth century, and physician to Henry VIII. Both are unsatisfactory. Merry Andrews at fairs used to wear patched coats, like harlequins, and sometimes had a hunch like our Punch.

26. 5 *Sovereign.* From *supra*='above,' and so='uppermost' or 'supreme.'

30. 3 *How do you do?* Notice that this has not yet become a mere ceremonious phrase.

31. 30 *Pest-House.* See map. It was close to the place where St. Luke's Hospital now stands. It was probably built for the sufferers in the plague of 1603. Bunhill is a corruption of 'Bonehill.' A thousand cartloads of human bones were brought here from the charnel-house of St. Paul's in 1549, and the street dirt being put here, the place was made a common laystall or refuse-heap. The hill thus formed was afterwards crowned with three windmills.

Page

32. 11 *Bulk.* A partition of boards, the stall or projecting framework for the display of goods before a shop. *Cf.* Shakspeare, *Othello*, v. 1, "Here, stand behind this *bulk*." So 'bulkhead' is a wooden partition in a ship. (Wedgwood.)

34. 4 *Low Countries.* This may refer to the capture of Dunkirk from the Spanish in 1658; and the *late wars* would then seem to mean the Dutch war of 1664.

11 *Husband.* 'Master of the house,' and so 'careful manager.'

20 *Evidently.* 'Plainly.' *Cf.* Acts x. 3, "He saw in a vision evidently."

36. 9 *Houndsditch.* This part of the old ditch of the City lies between Bishopsgate and Aldgate. It was paved and converted into streets in 1503. But when it lay open, "much filth conveyed out of the City, especially dead dogs, was there laid or cast." (Maitland, *Hist. London.*)

10 *Three Nuns Inn.* This inn owes its name to its proximity to the Minorite Convent in the opposite street. (See note on *Minories*, below.) The sign still remains, though the house has been rebuilt.

37. 20 *Links.* A link was a torch of pitched rope, probably from Dutch *lonte*='a gunner's match.' (Wedgwood.) Links were used till the beginning of this century, and may even now be seen in a London fog. Many houses still have over the steps the iron extinguisher which the link-men used to put out their links.

20 *Minories.* This street, on the site of the old City ditch, derives its name from the Convent of Poor Clares, or "Minoresses." St. Francis of Assisi founded, in 1208, the order of Mendicant or Begging Friars, and as a mark of humility called his followers "Fratres Minores," lesser brothers or friars. St. Clare founded a sisterhood under the rules of St. Francis. The friars were absolutely poor, and their mission was to the outcast of society; hence their houses were established in the poorest districts, and often, as in this case by the city ditch.

41. 27 *Breaches; i.e.* judgments or punishments. *Cf.* 1 Chron. xv. 13, "The Lord our God made a breach upon us."

42. 10 *Enthusiastic; i.e.* 'extravagant'; literally, 'acted upon by divine Spirit.' Burton, in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, speaks of "enthusians and impostors."

11 *Impertinent; i.e.* not pertinent, not to the point. Cf. Shakspeare, *Tempest*, i. 2, "Without the which this story were most impertinent."

43. 5 *Supine*=lying face upwards, and so 'lazy,' 'indolent.'

45. 37 *Mile-End.* This district was so called as being one mile from Aldgate. (Noorthouck.)

47. 23 *Went immediately away.* Near Bristol is a spot still called "Pitch and Pay," from the fact that the country people used in the plague time to bring their goods here and leave them, trusting to their customers to deposit the money in the same fashion.

26 *Spittle-fields.* Here once stood an old hospital belonging to the Priory of St. Mary, Spital. In Roman times this was a burying-place.

29 *Wood's-close.* This is now Northampton Row.

48. 12 *Coleman's Street.* This may be seen in the map leading from London Wall to Poultry.

22 *Tok'n-house Yard.* Here were manufactured, from 1648–1672, the copper coinage or 'tokens.'

35 *Garret.* Properly a place of look-out, or watch-tower (O.F. *garite*), and so a room at the top of a house. (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*)

54. 32 *Mount-mill.* At the upper end of Goswell Street.

56. 29 *Post-house.* The first public letter post was established in 1635. In 1640 an act established a General Post Office and the office of Postmaster-General. Letters were carried at the rate of twopence a sheet for eighty miles.

57. 20 *Smooth groats.* The groat was a silver coin of the value of fourpence.

20 *Brass farthings.* These were tokens; *i.e.* they represented a farthing, although their value was much less.

34 *Bromley* is in Essex, and *Blackwall* a little to the south. Both places may be easily identified on any map of London.

58. 32 *Presently; i.e.* immediately. *Cf.* Matthew xxi. 19.

62. 11 *Deptford-bridge.* This bridge crosses the Ravensbourne, which divides Greenwich from Deptford.

26 *The point; i.e.* Blackwell Point, below Greenwich. *Redriff* is the modern Rotherhithe, on the south side of the river, opposite to Limehouse.

67. 15 *Lepers of Samaria.* See 2 Kings vii. 3.

33 *Vagrant.* Vagrancy Acts were passed in 1530 and 1547. In 1597 a new Vagrancy Act (the one alluded to here) was passed, and this remained in force till 1713.

Page

71. 19 *Great road; i.e.* the Mile End and Bow Road, which led to Colchester.

76. 19 *Boarded-river; i.e.* the New River, which was made by Sir Hugh Middleton (1608–1613) to supply London with water. The only source of supply before this, besides the various conduits, was the Thames; and a 'forcier,' or wheel, was constructed near London Bridge in 1582 by one Peter Morris, a Dutchman, to raise the water from the river. The term *boarded river* is explained by the following passage in Stow's *Survey of London and Westminster* (Strype's edition), "The depth of the trench [*i.e.* of the New River] in some places descended fully thirty feet, if not more; whereas in other places it required as sprightful art again to mount it over a valley in a trough between a couple of hills, and the trough all the while borne up by wooden arches."

79. 33 *King's highway.* The four great Roman roads—Watling Street, Fosse Way, Hikenild Street, and Ermin Way—are mentioned in the laws of Edward the Confessor as being protected by the "King's peace"; *i.e.* any offence committed upon them would be under the jurisdiction, not of the local courts, but of the king's own officers. This tended to ensure the safety of travellers. In the laws of Henry I. we find that all great roads were included in the jurisdiction of the king. (See Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England.*)

80. 29 *Quarter.* The quartering or billeting of soldiers and sailors on citizens against their will was one of the evils complained of in the Petition of Right.

85. 29 *Low Country soldiers.* See note, page 34, l. 4.

88. 29 *Higglers* = hawkers; *i.e.* those who 'haggle' or spend much time over a bargain.

91. 13 *Weir or stop; i.e.* a lock.

93. 32 *Portsoken Ward.* This was the ward or division of the city of London just outside Aldgate. It was the 'soke' or liberty (see note p. 3, l. 35) of the port or gate. (Loftie.)

94. 8 *Housekeeper; i.e.* householder.

96. 1 *Still-yard.* See map. This is a corruption of 'steel-yard,' the yard in Dowgate, where the foreign merchants, the Gilda Teutonicorum, had a factory, and where steel was sold. See Skeat's *Dictionary.*

98. 29 *To seek.* 'To be wanting.' In the *Life of St. Brandan* it says of the devil, "Nothing to siche (seek) he nas." Cf. Porsons' epigram on Hermann and the German Scholars, "The Germans in Greek are sadly to seek." (Oliphant, *Old and Middle English.*)

104. 8 *Deodands.* A deodand is a thing to be given to God (*deo dandum*) to appease his wrath where a person comes to a violent death by mischance. It is forfeited to the king or the lord of the manor; if to the king, his almoner disposes of it by sale, and the money arising thereby he distributes to the poor.

37 *Act of Indemnity; i.e.* the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion for offences committed during the Civil Wars, passed by the Convention in 1660.

106. 26 *Death itself on his pale horse.* See Revelation vi. 8.

109. 13 *Sang His praise.* See Psalm cvi. 12, 13.

MAYNARD'S GERMAN TEXTS

A Series of German School Texts

CAREFULLY EDITED BY SCHOLARS FAMILIAR WITH THE NEEDS OF THE CLASS-ROOM

The distinguishing features of the Series are as follows:

The Texts are chosen only from modern German authors, in order to give the pupil specimens of the language as it is now written and spoken. The German prose style of the present differs so largely from that of the classical period of German literature, from which the books in the hands of pupils are generally taken, that the want of such texts must have been felt by every teacher of German.

Each volume contains, either in excerpt or *in extenso*, a piece of German prose which, whilst continuous enough to sustain interest, will not be too long to be finished in the work of a term or two.

The Series is composed of two progressive courses, the Elementary and the Advanced. Some of the volumes of the Elementary Course contain, in addition to the notes, a complete alphabetical vocabulary. In the remaining volumes of the Series difficulties of meaning, to which the ordinary school dictionaries offer no clew, are dealt with in the notes at the end of each book.

In order not to overburden the vocabularies with verbal forms occurring in the text, a list of the commoner strong verbs is added as an appendix to the volumes of the Elementary Course.

The modern German orthography is used throughout.

The same grammatical terminology is used in all the volumes of the Series.

The volumes are attractively bound in cloth, and the type is large and clear.

All the elementary numbers contain a valuable appendix on the strong and weak verbs.

Specimen copies sent by mail on receipt of the price.

No. 1. Ulysses und der Kyklop, from C. F. Becker's *Erzählungen aus der Alten Welt*. An especially easy number. *Elementary*. 21 pages text, 50 pages vocabulary. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 2. Fritz auf dem Lande, by Hans Arnold. An easy number. *Elementary*. 29 pages text, 28 pages notes, 28 pages vocabulary, 4 pages appendix. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 3. Bilder aus der Türkei, from Grube's *Geographische Characterbilder*. *Elementary*. 28 pages text, 25 pages notes, 43 pages vocabulary and appendix. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 4. Weihnachten bei Leberecht Hünchen, by Heinrich Seidel. *Elementary*. 26 pages text, 36 pages notes, 34 pages vocabulary and appendix. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 5. Die Wandelnde Glocke, from *Der Lahrer Hinkende Bote*, by Wilhelm Fischer. *Elementary.* 33 pages text, 24 pages notes, 38 pages vocabulary and appendix. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 6. Der Besuch im Carcer, Humoreske, by Ernst Eckstein. *Elementary.* 31 pages text, 23 pages notes, 30 pages vocabulary and appendix. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 7. Episodes from Andreas Hofer, by Otto Hoffman. *Elementary.* 78 pages text, 18 pages notes. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 8. Die Werke der Barmherzigkeit, by W. H. Riehl. *Elementary.* 60 pages text, 34 pages notes. Cloth, 25 cents.

No. 9. Harold, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten, by Ernst von Wildenbruch. *Advanced.* 4 pages introduction, 115 pages text, 18 pages notes. Cloth, 40 cents.

No. 10. Kolberg, Historisches Schauspiel in fünf Akten, by Paul Heyse. *Advanced.* 112 pages text, 25 pages notes. Cloth, 40 cents.

No. 11. Robert Blake (ein Seestück) und **Cromwell**, zwei ausgewählte Aufsätze, by Reinhold Pauli. *Advanced.* 2 pages preface, 93 pages text, 53 pages notes. Cloth, 40 cents.

No. 12. Das deutsche Ordensland Preussen, by H. von Treitschke. *Advanced.* With map, 77 pages text, 62 pages notes. Cloth, 40 cents.

No. 13. Meister Martin Hildebrand, by W. H. Riehl. *Advanced.* An easy volume. 3 pages introduction, 53 pages text, 35 pages notes. Cloth, 40 cents.

No. 14. Die Lehrjahre eines Humanisten, by W. H. Riehl. *Advanced.* 55 pages text, 47 pages notes. Cloth, 40 cents.

No. 15. Aus dem Jahrhundert des Grossen Krieges, by Gustav Freytag. *Advanced.* 28 pages introduction, 85 pages text, 41 pages notes. Cloth, 40 cents.

Goethe's Italienische Reise. (*Selected Letters.*) With introduction, 16 pages, map, text, 98 pages, notes, 48 pages. Edited by H. S. BERESFORD-WEBB, *Examiner in German* (*Prelim.*) *to the University of Glasgow.* Cloth, 50 cents.

This selection does not profess to cover entirely new ground, as only a limited portion of the letters is available for educational purposes, the remainder being beyond the reach of ordinary students; but while a few passages have been omitted which the editor deemed unsuitable or not sufficiently interesting, a large number have been added which have not appeared in previous selections.

TWO GERMAN READERS

Easy Readings in German on Familiar Subjects. Consisting of 100 Easy German Stories, 89 pages, with Exercises for re-translation, 31 pages, and English-German and German-English vocabularies, 79 pages. By A. R. LECHNER, Senior Master of Modern Languages, Modern School, Bedford, England. Cloth, 50 cents.

Most of the pieces here have been adapted from English sources, so that the probable acquaintance of most young people with the subjects will render them more interesting, and facilitate their translation into English. The language used throughout is of the simplest kind, and the author has endeavored to use only such words as occur in daily life. The same words are frequently repeated with the view of impressing them on the memory.

Beginner's German Translation Book. Consisting of German Stories and Anecdotes, 64 pages, with Exercises for re-translation, 50 pages, notes, 18 pages, and German-English and English-German vocabularies, 99 pages. By H. S. BERESFORD-WEBB, *Examiner in German* (*Prelim.*) *to the University of Glasgow.* Cloth, 50 cents.

The object of this book is, first, to provide a Reading Book for beginners,—and for this purpose the passages in Part I. (pp. 1–9) have been adapted and arranged in such a manner as to introduce the reader gradually to the various forms and constructions of the language,—and secondly, to train the learner to utilize his stock of knowledge, acquired in translating from the German, by reproducing sentences similar to those he has read; in other words, to encourage imitation and adaptation. A learner hears or reads a construction or phrase, understands it, but is unable, from want of practice or confidence, to use it himself. Very often this difficulty arises from the necessity of changing slightly the construction, and adapting it to what he is desirous of saying. The Exercises have therefore been compiled with a view to give constant practice in the development of this faculty, and though, of course, this is not all that is required when learning a language, it will go a long way towards overcoming the difficulties which present themselves to the intelligent learner.

Maynard, Merrill, & Co. publish also the following standard German books:

Neuer Leitfaden. By EDWIN F. BACON, Ph.B., Professor of Modern Languages at the Oneonta State Normal School. This book meets a real want by its skillful employment of the natural or conversational method without the sacrifice of the grammatical thoroughness essential to a complete knowledge of the language. It is divided into two parts: the first a conversation grammar arranged in concise single-page lessons, remarkably convenient for reference; the second a choice, collection of short stories, dialogues, and songs with music, to which is added a complete German-English vocabulary.

It is believed that this book, being free from all the objections so often urged against the natural method, will contribute greatly to the popularity and spread of that method. It teaches the grammar; but it is grammar by practice, not by rule. The twelve introductory lessons are a rare example of ingenuity in the conversational presentation of the elements of the language, and, in the hands of a skillful teacher, are calculated to prepare for rapid and intelligent progress through the admirable single-page lessons that follow. These lessons contain a clear outline, the *essentials*, of the grammar without that minuteness of detail which renders so many text-books in language too bulky for ordinary use or convenient reference. Cloth, $1.25.

Kostyak and Ader's Deutschland und die Deutschen. The land where German is spoken and the people who speak it. An excellent German reader. Cloth, 75 cents.

Neue Anekdoten: Leichte und heitere Stücke. A collection of amusing and instructive anecdotes which furnish excellent material for reading and conversation. Boards, 40 cents.

MAYNARD, MERRILL, & CO., PUBLISHERS,

43, 45, AND 47 EAST TENTH STREET, NEW YORK.

MAYNARD'S FRENCH TEXTS

A Series of French School Texts

This Series of French Texts is intended principally for beginners, although it will contain some volumes suitable for students who have attained some proficiency in reading. Each volume is carefully edited by an experienced teacher with notes or vocabulary or both, as the case may be. The type is large and clear and the volumes are tastefully bound in cloth.

Specimen copies sent by mail on receipt of the price

No. 1. La Belle au Bois Dormant. Le Chat Botté. *Elementary.* 24 pages text, 29 pages vocabulary. Cloth, price 20 cents.

No. 2. Méle-toi de ton Métier, by Mlle. L. Bruneau. *Elementary.* 18 pages text, 34 pages vocabulary. Cloth, price 20 cents.

No. 3. Huit Contes, by Mlle. Marie Minssen. *Elementary.* 25 pages text, 36 pages vocabulary. Cloth, price 20 cents.

No. 4. Historiettes. From the English. *Elementary.* 24 pages text, 35 pages vocabulary. Cloth, price 20 cents.

No. 5. Ce qu'on voit, by Mlle. E. de Pompéry. *Elementary.* 23 pages text, 36 pages vocabulary. Cloth, price 20 cents.

No. 6. Petites Histoires Enfantines, by Mlle. E. de Pompéry. *Elementary.* 22 pages text, 37 pages vocabulary. Cloth, price 20 cents.

No. 7. Petit Livre d'Instruction et de Divertissement. *Elementary.* 27 pages text, 37 pages vocabulary. Cloth, price 20 cents.

No. 8. Un Mariage d'Amour, by Ludovic Halévy. *Advanced.* 57 pages text, 5 pages appendix, 8 pages notes. Cloth, price 25 cents.

Maynard, Merrill, & Co. publish also the following standard French books:

La France. By A. de Rougemont, Professor of French at the Adelphi Academy, Brooklyn, N. Y., and in charge of the French course at Chautauqua. An entertaining and instructive reading book for French classes. Of special value for stimulating learners to speak. Used at Harvard College. Cloth, 188 pages, 75 cents.

"In seventeen short chapters we are told (in French) all about the soil, climate, population, industries, social classes, and principal cities of France; and in twenty-two chapters more the educational system, the language and universities, the literature, the arts, the sciences, religion, and domestic life of France are discussed."—*The Critic*, New York.

From Yale College: "I shall take every opportunity that may present itself to recommend its use."—Prof. W. D. WHITNEY.

From Amherst College: "It is almost the *ideal* book for which I have been looking."—Prof. W. L. MONTAGUE.

Anecdotes Nouvelles. Lectures faciles et amusantes et Récitations. Boards, 30 cents.

Elwall's English-French and French-English Dictionary. Compact, and beautifully printed. 18mo, 1300 pages, cloth, $2.00.

FRENCH COURSE BY PROF. JEAN GUSTAVE KEETELS

I. A Child's Illustrated First Book in French. 167 pages, 12mo, 75 cents.

The aim of this book is to teach children to speak French as they learn their mother tongue. It contains sufficient matter for a two years' course of instruction, and is intended for children from eight or ten years of age to twelve or fourteen years of age.

II. An Elementary French Grammar. 350 pages, 12mo. Price 95 cents.

This book is designed for students in high schools and academies who are beginning the study of French. Its purpose is to train them in the principles of French Grammar, and to accustom them to speak French by oral instruction. The rules are stated in clear, correct, and concise language. The exercises are short, lively, and varied. It contains matter for a course of one or two years' instruction, and will prepare students to take up afterward the larger works, with the advantage of knowing much of the theoretical part, rendering their task in going through the course easier and surer.

A KEY TO THE ENGLISH EXERCISES IN THE ELEMENTARY FRENCH GRAMMAR. For Teachers only. 60 cents.

III. An Analytical and Practical French Grammar. 12mo, 554 pages, $1.50.

This work contains a complete system for learning to read, write, and speak the language. The practical part consists of oral exercises in the form of questions, which the teacher asks of the pupil, who is to answer them directly in French. This method insures fluency of utterance and correct pronunciation, and exercises the pupil in speaking French from the beginning.

The theoretical part of the work comprises the whole grammar in fifty-four lessons, accompanied by English exercises to be translated into French. The development of the different elements is in harmony with the logical construction of sentences.

Three lessons are devoted to Etymology, treating of words derived from the Latin and common to both French and English. This is an interesting part of the work.

Six lessons have been added, giving subjects for composition; containing some of the principal idioms in the language.

This work is the most complete text-book of French published in this country.

A KEY TO THE ENGLISH EXERCISES IN THE ANALYTICAL AND PRACTICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR. For Teachers only. 60 cents.

IV. A Collegiate Course in the French Language: Comprising a Complete Grammar in Two Parts. 550 pages, 12mo, attractively bound. Price for introduction, $1.50.

PART FIRST.—A Treatise on French Pronunciation; Rules of Gender; Etymology; Exercises for Translation; the Latin elements common to both French and English.

PART SECOND.—Syntax; a Collection of Idioms; Exercises for Translation, and Vocabulary.

This work, as its title indicates, is designed for colleges and collegiate institutions.

A KEY TO THE ENGLISH EXERCISES IN THE COLLEGIATE COURSE. For Teachers only. 60 cents.

V. **An Analytical French Reader**: with English Exercises for Translation and Oral Exercises for Practice in Speaking; Questions on Grammar, with References to the Author's several Grammars; Notes and Vocabulary. In Two Parts. PART FIRST: Selections of Fables, Anecdotes, and Short Stories. PART SECOND: Selections from the Best Modern Writers. 348 pages, 12mo. Price $1.25.

FRENCH PLAYS FOR GIRLS

BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

EDITED BY PROF. M. ÉMILE ROCHE

1. **Marguerite; ou, La robe perdue.** Drame moral en un acte, mêlé de couplets. 25 cents.
2. **Les Ricochets.** Comédie en un acte, imitée de Picard avec couplets. 25 cents.
3. **Les Demoiselles d'Honneur; ou, Le lutin du soir.** Vaudeville en un acte. 25 cents.
4. **Les Demoiselles de Saint Cyr.** Petit drame moral en un acte. 25 cents.
5. **Un Reve.** Petit drame avec prologue et épilogue. 25 cents.
6. **Un Place à la Cour.** Comédie en un acte avec couplets. 25 cents.

MAYNARD, MERRILL, & CO., PUBLISHERS

43, 45, AND 47 EAST TENTH STREET, NEW YORK.

ENGLISH CLASSIC SERIES—CONTINUED.

158-159 Lamb's Essays. (Selections.)
160-161 Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.
162-163 Macaulay's History of England, Chapter I. *Complete.*
164-165-166 Prescott's Conquest of Mexico. (Condensed.)

New numbers will be added from time to time.

Single numbers, 32 to 96 pages; mailing price, 12 cents per copy. Double numbers, 75 to 158 pages; mailing price, 24 cents per copy.

SPECIAL NUMBERS.

Milton's Paradise Lost. Book I. With portrait and biographical sketch of Milton, and full introductory and explanatory notes. Bound in Boards. *Mailing price, 30 cents.*

Milton's Paradise Lost. Books I. and II. With portrait and biographical sketch of Milton, and full introductory and explanatory notes. Boards. *Mailing price, 40 cents.*

Shakespeare Reader. Extracts from the Plays of Shakespeare, with historical and explanatory notes. By C. H. WYKES. 160 pp., 16mo, cloth. *Mailing price, 35 cents.*

Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales. The Prologue. With portrait and biographical sketch of the author, introductory and explanatory notes, brief history of English language to time of Chaucer, and glossary. Bound in boards. *Mailing price, 35 cents.*

Chaucer's The Squieres Tale. With portrait and biographical sketch of author, glossary, and full explanatory notes. Boards. *Mailing price, 35 cents.*

Chaucer's The Knightes Tale. With portrait and biographical sketch of author, glossary, and full explanatory notes. Boards. *Mailing price, 40 cents.*

Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer. With biographical sketch of author, and full explanatory notes. Boards. *Mailing price, 30 cents.*

Homer's Iliad. Books I. and VI. Metrical translation by GEORGE HOWLAND. With introduction and notes. *Mailing price, 25 cents.*

Homer's Odyssey. Books I., V., IX., and X. Metrical translation by GEORGE HOWLAND. With introduction and notes. *Mailing price, 25 cents.*

Horace's The Art of Poetry. Translated in verse by GEORGE HOWLAND. *Mailing price, 25 cents.*

Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. Edited by PETER PARLEY, with introduction and notes. 169 pp. 16mo. Linen. *Mailing price, 30 cents.*

The Story of the German Iliad, with Related Stories. With a full glossary and review of the Influence of the Nibelungen Lied through Richard Wagner. By MARY E. BURT. Illustrated. 128 pages, 12mo, cloth. *Mailing price, 50 cents.*

Special Prices to Teachers.

FULL DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE SENT ON APPLICATION.

ENGLISH CLASSIC SERIES.

KELLOGG'S EDITIONS.

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

Each Play in One Volume.

Text Carefully Expurgated for Use in Mixed Classes.

With Portrait, Notes, Introduction to Shakespeare's Grammar, Examination Papers and Plan of Study.

(SELECTED.)

BY BRAINERD KELLOGG, LL.D.,

Professor of the English Language and Literature in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, author of a "Text-Book on Rhetoric," a "Text-Book on English Literature," and one of the authors of Reed & Kellogg's "Lessons in English."

The notes of English Editors have been freely used; but they have been rigorously pruned, or generously added to, wherever it was thought they might better meet the needs of American School and College Students.

We are confident that teachers who examine these editions will pronounce them better adapted to the wants of the class-room than any others published. **These are the only American Editions of these Plays that have been carefully expurgated for use in mixed classes.**

Printed from large type, attractively bound in cloth, and sold at nearly one half the price of other School Editions of Shakespeare.

The following Plays, each in one volume, are now ready:

Merchant of Venice.
Julius Cæsar.
Macbeth.
Tempest.
Hamlet.
King John.
Much Ado about Nothing.
King Henry V.
King Lear.
Othello.
King Henry IV., Part I.
King Henry VIII.
Coriolanus.
As You Like It.
King Richard III.
A Midsummer-Night's Dream.
A Winter's Tale.
Twelfth Night.
Romeo and Juliet.

Mailing price, 30 cents per copy. Special price to Teachers.